

# **SĪBAWAYH ON ʔIMĀLAH (INCLINATION)**

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*TEXT, TRANSLATION, NOTES AND ANALYSIS*



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## Preface

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The study of this treatise on *ʔimālah* (inclination), like the study of any part of the massive book by Sībawayh, poses challenges to readers, both native and non-native speakers of Arabic. The challenge for the native, in part, is because this work was the first systematic formalization of the grammar of the language, and in the process of creating it a whole new set of terms and a new paradigm of Arabic linguistics was introduced which was different from the traditional method, and more authentically descriptive. It was the beginning of the Arabic linguistic venture. Though this book captures the native intuitions about the language it poses an even greater challenge to non-native Arabic readers schooled in different traditions, who will encounter not only a new language but a new and different paradigm with its attendant conceptual framework. We consider the Arabic paradigm of doing linguistics not as a replica of the Western or of any other paradigm but as being with its own imagery and its own theoretical scaffolding.

The aim of this study is to overcome the obstacles and challenges posed by Sībawayh's treatise. There will surely be greater challenges to those who are not experts in Arabic than to those who are, but this work aims to make the study of Sībawayh as accessible to the non-experts as to experts in Arabic. This study, and in particular the translation, follows a 'rich translation format' by including the Arabic technical linguistic terms, in transcription, within the translation. This is a format that has been experimented with in seminars at the Department of Linguistics at Georgetown University and been found to be the least intrusive and the most efficient way for readers to gain immediate access to the Arabic original through the medium of English translation. The process poses a minor inconvenience for only the beginning stages and avoids the distractions of an abundance of footnotes or endnotes. Transcriptions of Arabic words included within the English translation are in italics, and their corresponding glosses are enclosed in single quotes ' '.

This is only a small section of the book of Sībawayh, chapters 477–82,

which deals with *ʔimālah* in a systematic way, though this does not mean that the concept is not mentioned elsewhere in the book. The format followed for these chapters is that of translation facing the Arabic original. In the belief that the presence of both texts will contribute to a better understanding of the intentions of the author, the translation is accompanied by the original Arabic text on the facing and corresponding pages. Each chapter is followed by an analysis which consists of the main processes and contexts described within that chapter. There are references to dialectal differences throughout the text that are gathered into a separate chapter. Following this, there are several additions to the text and translation, such as glossaries for Arabic, English and linguistic terms and an index of all the examples used in the treatise.

Thanks go to Professor Muhammad al-Hawary of Oklahoma University and to Mr Simon Mauck for reading versions of the treatise and recommending both stylistic and substantial changes. Thanks also go to the anonymous reviewers for their judicious observations. Finally, thanks to the commissioning editor, Sarah Edwards, and to James Dale, Felicity Marsh, Mairead McElligott and Stuart Midgley. Earlier versions of parts of the treatise were published in the *Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies*, 1994, Volume XI, pp. 58–115 and 37–82.

The following are the corresponding IPA transcription symbols for Arabic:

| Arabic | Name and transcription | Arabic | Name and transcription |
|--------|------------------------|--------|------------------------|
| ء      | hamzaʔ '[ʔ]'           | ن      | nuwn '[n]'             |
| ا      | ʔalif '[A]'            | ط      | tʔāʔ '[tʔ]'            |
| هـ     | hāʔ '[h]'              | د      | dāl '[d]'              |
| ع      | ʔayn '[ʕ]'             | ت      | tāʔ '[t]'              |
| ح      | hāʔ '[h]'              | ص      | sʔād '[sʔ]'            |
| غ      | ʔayn '[ɣ]'             | ز      | zāy '[z]'              |
| خ      | xāʔ '[x]'              | س      | siyn '[s]'             |
| ك      | kāf '[k]'              | ظ      | ḏʔāʔ '[ḏʔ]'            |
| ق      | qāf '[q]'              | ذ      | ḏāl '[ḏ]'              |
| ض      | dʔād '[dʔ]'            | ث      | ṯāʔ '[θ]'              |
| ج      | giym '[g]'             | ف      | fāʔ '[f]'              |
| ش      | šiyn '[ʃ]'             | ب      | bāʔ '[b]'              |
| ي      | yāʔ '[y]'              | م      | miym '[m]'             |
| ل      | lām '[l]'              | و      | wāw '[w]'              |
| ر      | rāʔ '[r]'              | ـَ     | fathah '[a]'           |
| ـِ     | dʔammah '[u]'          | ـِ     | kasrah '[i]'           |

## PRELIMINARIES

## Introduction

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ʔabuw Biṣr ʔibn ʔuṯmān ʔibn Qanbar Sībawayh, (AH 140?–180/AD 757–796), was an eighth-century linguist. His is the most recognizable and respected name among grammarians of Arabic, and he is known simply as Sībawayh. He was born in Baydʿāʔ, in the province of Shiraz, in southwestern Iran/Persia. From there his family migrated during his youth to Basrah, a southern Iraqi city, where he attended school. He studied under the most noted and influential linguists of his time, in the School of Basrah. All his teachers are mentioned and frequently quoted in his book on Arabic. Two of the most quoted of his teachers are ʔal-Khalīl ʔibn ʔahmad ʔal-Farāhīdī (AH 100–175/AD 719–91), who is quoted 608 times, and Yuwnis ʔibn ḥabīb (died AH 183/AD 799), who is quoted 217 times, according to Troupeau (1976: 228, 230). Sībawayh's book, also known as ʔal-Kitāb (1898), is a full-fledged analysis of Arabic. The book includes a wealth of detail on the structure of Arabic and a generous supply of illustrative examples. According to Yāquwt (1992), there are 9,735 sentences analyzed in the book, in addition to the thousands of inflectional and derivational morphological illustrations. There are hundreds of quotes from the Qurʔān, the canon of classical Arabic poetry, contemporary linguists and other living informants, and reports by others on the Arabic of the time. In addition, the book is a compendium of the opinions of the linguists of his time. He records the comments and opinions of his teachers and contemporaries on the many topics of Arabic grammar. Sībawayh is to Arabic grammar what Paṇini (ca. 400 BC) is to Sanskrit grammar; they are of equal prestige in their respective cultures.

There are three Arabic editions of the book of Sībawayh: Hartwig Derenbourg ([1881–5] 1970), Buwḷāq (1898) and Hāruwn (1966–77). For the purposes of this study, Derenbourg was selected for the convenience of numbered chapters and numbered lines, but otherwise there are no substantial differences between the Derenbourg and Buwḷāq editions; they are practically identical. There are more *hamzah* [ʔ]s, for example,

indicated in the Buwḷāq edition, and also commentary on the margins and poetical analyses at the bottom of the page. But in comparing the chapters on *ʔimālah* ‘inclination’ one finds only a couple of discrepancies that touch on items marked or unmarked for *ʔimālah*, that is, whether the vertical subscript is indicated or not. In comparing these two editions with that of Hāruwn one finds many more discrepancies, and many items that are expected to undergo *ʔimālah* are not marked in Hāruwn, though they are in the other two editions. Since this touches on the substance of this topic, it is only prudent to go with the more carefully marked editions. Hāruwn’s edition also has added punctuation, paragraphing, and so on, on much less crowded pages; needless to say, those who have used the three editions find Hāruwn’s edition much easier to read. The pages of the other two editions are densely packed with none of the user friendly features of Hāruwn’s text but they remain preferable. These comments, incidentally, apply only to the sections on *ʔimālah*. The accuracy of the rest of the text in the other sections of the book has not been compared for the purposes of this study.

It is not otiose to mention that there is a complete German translation of *ʔal-Kitāb* by Gustav Jahn ([1894–1900] 1969). It is a one of a kind book, the only complete translation of this book ever attempted. It is a translation based on Derenbourg’s edition. Despite its age, those who refer to it will be amply rewarded by its copious notes and quotes from primary sources of opinions on *ʔal-Kitāb* by other Arab authors, especially from *ʔal-Siyrāfiy*’s tenth century commentary on the book, which is in the process of being published as a multi-volume project, slowly: the first volume appeared in 1986 and the sixth volume appeared in 2004 (*ʔal-Siyrāfiy*, 1986–2004). These volumes cover 121 chapters out of 571. In the meantime, a three-volume commentary attributed to Shantamari (AH 410–95/AD 1019–110), the author of the poetical analyses at the bottom of the page in the Buwḷāq edition, *ʔal-Nukat fiy Tafsiyr Kitāb Sībawayh*, was published in 1999.

The chapters on *ʔimālah* ‘inclination,’ that is, the change of [ā] to [ē], bring this phenomenon of Arabic under control by isolating its occurrences and determining its contexts. It is not a seamless process with neither variation nor exceptions but a phenomenon that is sensitive to both tribal geography and personal habits of speech. It varies from tribe to tribe and individual to individual. All or most of these facets are touched upon and acknowledged in these chapters. What is remarkable is that Sībawayh was able to see *ʔimālah* as a unified process with shared

features across dialectal and individual lines of difference.

The treatise is well organized with each of its individual chapters dedicated to one aspect of *ʔimālah* or another. The label of the chapter captures its content and the length depends on the density of the content. Every aspect that has been noticed is illustrated with one or more examples from one dialect or another. There is a remarkable specificity in the analysis. One is made aware of the individuality of the speakers as they make use of, forego or misuse the process. This analysis does not only capture the general principles of *ʔimālah* but gives a great deal of space to the discussion of exceptions, non-application or over-application of these principles. It is a thorough analysis. Though the process is pervasive, it is still an optional process which may or may not be applied.

This is the first English translation of any extended section of Sībawayh’s book. We are optimistic that familiarity with his analysis and the depth to which he goes into the details of Arabic will inspire others to learn more about him and his work. We are hopeful about the appearance of other sections in the near future. It is a wish that this translation will ignite interest in the work of Sībawayh and make him a more frequent focus of attention in linguistic discussions and debates.

## **TEXT AND TRANSLATION**

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## Chapter One (477)

### 477 هذا باب ما تُمالُ فيه الألفاتُ

(م. 2. ص 279. س 10) فالألفُ تُمالُ إذا كان بعدها حرفٌ مكسورٌ وذلك قولك عابِدٌ وعالِمٌ ومَساجِدٌ ومَفاتيحُ

## Chapter One<sup>1</sup> (477)

This is a Chapter where the *ʔalifāt*<sup>2</sup> [A]s *tumālu* ‘are inclined’

(Buwlāq vol. 2, pp. 259–62; Derenbourg vol. 2. pp. 279–82;  
Hāruwn vol. 4, pp. 117–23)

The *ʔalif* [A] (II, P. 279, L. 10)<sup>3</sup> is inclined if there is a *maksuwr*<sup>4</sup> ‘broken with an [i]’ letter after it, as in your saying *ʕābidun* → *ʕēbidun* ‘a worshiper’,<sup>5</sup> *ʕālim* → *ʕēlim* ‘a scientist’, *masāgid* → *masēgid* ‘mosques’, *maḥāṭiḥ* → *maḥēṭiḥ* ‘keys’,

- 1 The chapters follow the enumeration of Derenbourg ([1881–1889] 1970). This chapter is chapter 477 in this enumeration. Volume, page and line numbers of this edition are indicated in this translation.
- 2 Arabic transcriptions are in italics.
- 3 The pagination refers to Volume II of Sībawayh. Ed. Derenbourg, 1889.
- 4 Arab linguists posited two classes of sounds: *sawākin* ‘still letters’ and *ḥarakāt* ‘motions’. The motions are *faṭḥah* ‘open [a]’, *kasrah* ‘break [i]’, and *ḍammah* ‘close [u]’, and the absence of motion is *sukuwn* ‘stillness, quiescence’. A letter is *maḥṭuḥ* ‘open’, *maksuwr* ‘broken’ or *maḍmuwm* ‘closed’, or *sākin* ‘still’, if it is pronounced with an [a], [i], [u] or no motion, respectively. If a ‘still’ letter is pronounced with an [a], [i], or [u], it is *mutaḥarrik* ‘in motion’, and if not it is *sakin* ‘still, quiescent’. This translation will adhere to the native vocabulary and maintain the native perspective and imagery.
- 5 The text will include both the uninclined and the inclined forms.

وَعَذَائِرٌ وَهَابِيلٌ. وَإِنَّمَا أَمَالُوهَا لِلْكَسْرَةِ الَّتِي بَعْدَهَا أَرَادُوا أَنْ يَقْرَبُوهَا مِنْهَا  
كَمَا قَرَّبُوا فِي الْإِدْغَامِ الصَّادَ مِنَ الزَّايِ حِينَ قَالُوا صَدَّرَ فَجَعَلُوهَا بَيْنَ  
الزَّايِ وَالصَّادِ فَقَرَّبَهَا مِنَ الزَّايِ وَالصَّادِ التَّمَاسَّ الْخَفَّةَ لِأَنَّ الصَّادَ قَرِيبَةٌ  
مِنَ الدَّالِ فَقَرَّبَهَا مِنْ أَشْبَهِ الْحُرُوفِ مِنْ مَوْضِعِهَا بِالدَّالِ. وَبَيَّانَ ذَلِكَ فِي  
الْإِدْغَامِ. فَكَمَا يَرِيدُ فِي الْإِدْغَامِ (س 15) أَنْ يَرْفَعَ لِسَانَهُ مِنْ مَوْضِعِ وَاحِدٍ  
كَذَلِكَ يَقْرُبُ الْحَرْفَ إِلَى الْحَرْفِ عَلَى قَدَرِ ذَلِكَ. فَالْأَلْفَ قَدْ تُشَبِّهُ الْيَاءَ  
فَأَرَادُوا أَنْ يَقْرَبُوهَا مِنْهَا. وَإِذَا كَانَ بَيْنَ أَوَّلِ حَرْفٍ مِنَ الْكَلِمَةِ وَبَيْنَ الْأَلْفِ  
حَرْفٌ مُتَحَرِّكٌ وَالْأَوَّلُ مَكْسُورٌ نَحْوَ عَمَلٍ أَمَلْتَ الْأَلْفَ لِأَنَّهُ لَا يَتَفَاوَتُ مَا  
بَيْنَهُمَا بِحَرْفٍ. أَلَا تَرَاهُمْ قَالُوا صَبَقْتُ

*ṣuḍāfirun* → *ṣuḍēfirun* ‘coarse’, *hābiylu* → *hēbiylu* ‘Abel’.<sup>6</sup> They inclined it due to the *kasrah* ‘break [i]’ that is after it. They wanted to approximate it to it,<sup>7</sup> just as they approximated the *sād* [s<sup>ʰ</sup>] to the *zāy* [z] in *ʔidyām* ‘assimilation’<sup>8</sup> when they said *sādara* ‘he sent’. They made it between the *zāy* [z] and the *sād* [s<sup>ʰ</sup>]. They approximated it to the *zāy* [z] and the *sād* [s<sup>ʰ</sup>] in search of ease, because the *sād* [s<sup>ʰ</sup>] is close to the *dāl* [d], so they approximated to the *dāl* [d] that letter, just as [d] which is the more similar to its position. Evidence for that is in *ʔidyām* ‘assimilation’, (L. 15) one wishes to raise one’s tongue from a single position and in the same manner a letter is approximated to another letter to that extent. The *ʔalif* [A] is similar to the *yā* [y]<sup>9</sup> so they wanted to approximate it to it. If there is a letter *mutaḥarrik* ‘in motion’ between the first letter of a word and the *ʔalif* [A], and the first letter is *maksuwr* ‘broken with an [i]’, like *ṣimād* → *ṣimēd* ‘Imad’, you incline the *ʔalif* [A], because they are not interrupted by a letter between them. Don’t you notice them say *sabaḡtu*

6 In this rich translation format much of the Arabic terminology is integrated into the translation.

7 That is, to make the *ʔalif* [A] similar to the *kasrah* [i].

8 Discussed in *ʔal-kitāb* (II. chs 565–71. Pp. 452–81).

9 In the categorial sense that both [A, y] are *huruf ʔillah* ‘weak letters’.

فجعلوها صاداً لمكان القاف كما قالوا صُنِّقْتُ. وكذلك إن كان بينه وبين  
 الألف حرفان الأول ساكنٌ لأن الساكن ليس بحاجز قويٍّ وإنما يرفع لسانه  
 (س 20) عن الحرف المتحرك رَفْعَةً واحدة كما رفعه في الأول فلم  
 يَتَفَاوَتْ لهذا كما لم يَتَفَاوَتْ الحرفان حيث قلت صَوِّقْ. وذلك قولهم  
 سِرْبَالٌ وَشِمْلَالٌ وَعِمَادٌ وَكِلَابٌ. وجميع هذا لا (ص 280) يُمِيلُهُ أَهْلُ  
 الْحِجَازِ. فإذا كان ما بعد الألف مضموماً أو مفتوحاً لم تكن فيه إمالةٌ وذلك  
 نحو أَجْرٌ وَتَابِلٌ وَخَاتَمٌ. لأن الفتح من الألف فهو الزمُّ

→ *sʿabaGtu* 'I preceded'? They made the *siyn* [s] a *sʿād* [sʿ] due to the position of the *Gāf* [G].<sup>10</sup> In the same way they said *suGtu* → *sʿuGtu* 'I drove'. They behave similarly if there were two letters between it and the *ʔalif* [A], the first of which was *sākin* 'quiescent'. Since the quiescent is not a strong barrier, the speaker raises his tongue (L. 20) from *ʔal-mutaharrik* 'the letter in motion' with a single lift, just as he raised it in the first. This does not interrupt it, just as two letters do not interrupt when you say *sawiyGun* → *sʿawiyGun* 'grain mush'.<sup>11</sup> Examples of that are in their saying *sirbālun* → *sirbēlun* 'a shirt', *šimlālun* → *šimlēlun*, 'agile', *šimādun* → *šimēdun* 'Imad' and *kilābun* → *kilēbun* 'dogs' (P. 280). The people of higāz incline none of these. If after the *ʔalif* [A] is *maḍmuwm* 'closed with an [u]' or *maftuwḥ* 'open with an [a]', there will be no *ʔimālah* 'inclination' in it. Examples of that are *ʔāgurrin* 'a rewarder', *tābalin* 'spice', and *xātamin* 'a finger ring', because the *fath* 'open [a]' is from the *ʔalif* [A], and is more closely allied

10 The following [G] changes the *siyn* [s] to a *sʿād* [sʿ] because both letters have the feature 'covered'.

11 The letters [w,y] do not interfere with the assimilation of *siyn* [s] to *sʿād* [sʿ].



لها من الكسرة ولا تَتَّبِعِ الواو لأنها لا تُشَبِّهها. ألا ترى أنك لو أردت  
التقريب من الواو انقلبت فلم تكن ألفاً. وكذلك إذا كان الحرف الذي قبل  
الألف مفتوحاً أو مضموماً نحو رَبَّابٍ وَجَمَادٍ وَالْبَلْبَالِ وَالْجُمَاعِ (س 5)  
وَالْخَقَافِ. وتقول الْيَسُودُادُ فَيُمِيلُ الألف هاهنا من أمالها في الفعل لأن  
وداداً بمنزلة كِلَابٍ. ومما يميلون ألفه كل شيء من بنات الياء والواو  
كانت عينه مفتوحة. أمّا ما كان من بنات الياء فثُمَّالُ ألفه لأنها في موضع  
ياء وبدلَ منها فنحوها كما أن بعضهم يقول: قد رُدُّ. وقال الفرزدق  
(طويل)

with it than the *kasrah* 'break [i]'. It does not follow the *wāw* [w] because it is not similar to it. Don't you see that if you want to approximate to *wāw* [w], *ʔinGalabat* 'it is reversed', but then it is not an *ʔalif* [A] anymore. The behavior is the same if the letter that is before the *ʔalif* [A] is *maftuwḥ* 'open with an [a]' or *maḍmuwm* 'closed with a [u]', like *rabābin* 'an Arab fiddle', *gamādin* 'inanimate', *ʔal-balbāl* 'the confusion', *ʔal-gummāf* 'the totality' (L. 5) and *ʔal-xuṭʔāf* 'the swallows.' You say *ʔal-ʔiswidād* → *ʔal-ʔiswidēd* 'the blackness,' and the *ʔalif* [A] is inclined here by one who inclines it in the *ʔal-fiṣāl* form, because *-widād* → *-widēd*<sup>12</sup> 'section of blackness' is in the position of *kilāb* → *kilēb* 'dogs'. They incline all the cases of the *banāt* 'structures' with the *yāʔ* [y] and the *wāw* [w] whose *ṣayn* [ʃ]<sup>13</sup> is 'open with an [a]'. As to what happens with the structure with a *yāʔ* [y], its *ʔalif* [A] is inclined because it is in place of a *yāʔ* [y] and is its *badal* 'substitute', so they leaned towards it. Some of them say *rudda* → *ridda* 'returned'<sup>14</sup> as Farazdaq: (tʔawiyl)<sup>15</sup>

12 *-widād* is the last part of *ʔiswidād*, and is affected by *ʔimālah*.

13 *ṣayn* [ʃ] is the second radical of the triradical paradigmatic root *ʃʕl*.

14 This is from *rudida* → *ridida*.

15 The meter for tʔawiyl is: *faʕuwlun maʕāʕilun faʕuwlun maʕāʕilun* (twice).

وما حِلٌّ مِنْ جَهْلٍ حُبًّا حُلُمَائِنَا وَلَا قَائِلُ الْمَعْرُوفِ فِينَا يُعَنَّفُ

(س 10) فَيُشَمُّ كَأَنَّهُ يَنْحُو نَحْوَ فُعِلَ. فَكَذَا نَحْوًا نَحْوَ الْيَاءِ. وَأَمَّا بَنَاتُ الْوَاوِ فَأَمَالُوا أَلْفَهَا لَغْلَبَةِ الْيَاءِ عَلَى هَذِهِ اللَّامِ لِأَنَّ هَذِهِ اللَّامَ الَّتِي هِيَ وَآوٌ إِذَا جَاوَزَتْ ثَلَاثَةً أَحْرَفَ قَلْبَتْ يَاءً وَالْيَاءُ لَا تُقَلِّبُ عَلَى هَذِهِ الصِّفَةِ وَآوٌ فَأَمِيلَتْ لَتَمَكَّنَ الْيَاءُ فِي بَنَاتِ الْوَاوِ. أَلَا تَرَاهُمْ يَقُولُونَ مَعْدِيَّ وَمَسْنِيَّ وَالْقُنْيَ وَالْعِصْيَ وَلَا تَفْعَلُ هَذَا الْوَاوُ بِالْيَاءِ. فَأَمَالُوهَا لَمَّا ذَكَرْتُ لَكَ. وَالْيَاءُ أَخْفُ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ الْوَاوِ فَنَحْوًا

*wa mā hulla/hilla min gahlin ḥubba ḥulamāʔinā*

*wa lā ḡāʔilu ʔal-maṣruwfi fiynā yuṣannaḡu*

'The love of our friends does not unravel due to misfortune  
Nor will the one who speaks favorably of us be brutalized'

(L. 10) He *yušimmu* 'rounds' as though he were inclining towards a *fuṣila* form. Thus they inclined towards the *yāʔ* [y].

As to the structures with the *wāw* [w], they inclined their *ʔalif* [A] due to the mastery of the *yā ʔ* [y] over its *lām* [l],<sup>16</sup> because this *lām* [l], which is a *wāw* [w], is changed into a *yāʔ* [y] if there are more than three letters. *yāʔ* [y] is not changed in this fashion into a *wāw* [w]. It is inclined because the *yāʔ* [y] occurs in the structures with a *wāw* [w]. Don't you notice them saying *maṣdiyyun* 'running', *masniyyun* 'watering', *ʔal-gunniyy* 'the canals' and *ʔal-ṣiṣʔiyy* 'the sticks',<sup>17</sup> but the *wāw* [w] does not do this to the *yāʔ* [y]? They inclined it due to what I mentioned to you. The *yāʔ* [y] is easier for them than the *wāw* [w], so they leaned

16 *lām* is the third radical of the paradigmatic root *ʃl*.

17 The roots are: *ṣdw*, *snw*, *ḡnw* and *ṣsʔw*, respectively.

نحوها. وقد يتركون الإمالة فيما كان على ثلاثة أحرف (س 15) من بنات الواو نحو قفاً وعَصاً والقنأ والقنأ وأشباههن من الأسماء. وذلك أنهم أرادوا أن يبينوا أنها مكان الواو ويفصلوا بينها وبين بنات الياء. وهذا قليل يُحفظ. وقد قالوا الكيا والعشا والمكا وهو جحر الضب كما فعلوا ذلك في الفعل. والإمالة في الفعل لا تنكسر إذا قلت غزاً وصفاً ودعاً وإنما كان في الفعل مثلياً لأن الفعل لا يثبت على هذه الحال للمعنى. ألا ترى أنك تقول غزاً ثم تقول غزى فتدخله الياء وتغلب عليه وعدة (س 20) الحروف على حالها. وتقول أغزوا فإذا قلت أفعل قلت أغزى قلبت وعدة الحروف (ص 281) على حالها فأخر الحروف أضعف لتغيره والعدة على حالها

towards it. They may leave out the inclination in three-letter structures (L. 15) with a *wāw* [w], like *ḡafan* 'back', *ḡasʿan* 'a staff', *ʔal-Ganā* 'the aquiline nose', *ʔal-Gaʿā* 'the sand grouse'<sup>18</sup> and their like in *ʔasmāʔ* 'names'. That is because they wanted to show that they are in place of the *wāw* [w], and they wanted to distinguish between them and the structures with the *yāʔ* [y]. These are few and can be memorized. They also say *ʔal-kibā* → *ʔal-kibē* 'the horse', *ʔal-ḡašā* → *ʔal-ḡašē* 'dimness of sight' and *ʔal-makā* → *ʔal-makē* 'the burrow of a lizard',<sup>19</sup> as they do with the *fisl* 'action'. Inclination in the *fisl* 'action' does not *tankasiru* 'break with an [i]' when you say *ḡazā* → *ḡazē* 'they-d invaded', *sʿafā* → *sʿafē* 'they-d are clear' and *daḡā* → *daḡē* 'they-d invoked'. Rather the *fisl* 'action' is persistent because it does not remain constant in this state due to meaning. Don't you notice that you say *ḡazā* 'they-d invade', then you say *ḡuziya* 'it was invaded' when the *yāʔ* [y] enters in and masters it, while the number (L. 20) of letters is constant? You say *ʔuḡzuw* 'invade' (pl. imp.). If you use the *ʔaffala* form, you say *ʔaḡza* 'he invades': you permuted, but the number of letters (P. 281) is constant. The final letter is weaker due to its change, but the number is constant,

18 The roots are: *ḡfw*, *ḡsʿw*, *ḡnw* and *ḡrʿw*, respectively.

19 The roots are: *kbw*, *ḡšw* and *mkw*, respectively.

وَتُخْرَجُ إِلَى الْيَاءِ تَقُولُ لَا غَزِيرَيْنَّ وَلَا يَكُونُ ذَلِكَ فِي الْأَسْمَاءِ. فَإِذَا ضَعُفَتْ الْوَاوُ فَإِنَّهَا تَصِيرُ إِلَى الْيَاءِ فَصَارَتْ الْأَلْفُ أَوْفَعًا فِي الْفِعْلِ لَمَّا يَلْزَمُهَا مِنَ التَّغْيِيرِ فَإِذَا بَلَغَتْ الْأَسْمَاءُ أَرْبَعَةَ أَحْرَفٍ أَوْ جَاوَزَتْ مِنْ بَنَاتِ الْوَاوِ فَإِلْمَالُهُ مُسْتَتَبَّةٌ لِأَنَّهَا قَدْ خَرَجَتْ إِلَى الْيَاءِ. وَجَمِيعُ هَذَا لَا يَمِيلُهُ نَاسٌ كَثِيرٌ مِنْ بَنِي (س 5) تَمِيمٍ وَغَيْرِهِمْ. وَمِمَّا يُمِيلُونَ أَلْفَهُ كُلُّ اسْمٍ كَانَتْ فِي آخِرِهِ أَلْفٌ زَائِدَةٌ لِلتَّأْنِيثِ أَوْ لَغَيْرِ ذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهَا بِمَنْزِلَةِ مَا هُوَ مِنْ بَنَاتِ الْيَاءِ. أَلَا تَرَى أَنَّكَ لَوْ قُلْتَ فِي مَعْرَى وَحُبْلَى فَعَلْتُ عَلَى عِدَّةِ الْحُرُوفِ لَمْ يَجِءْ وَاحِدٌ مِنَ الْحَرْفَيْنِ إِلَّا مِنْ بَنَاتِ الْيَاءِ. فَكَذَلِكَ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ كَانَ مِثْلَهُمَا مِمَّا يَصِيرُ فِي تَنْثِيَةٍ أَوْ فِعْلٍ يَاءٌ فَلَمَّا كَانَتْ فِي حُرُوفٍ لَا تَكُونُ مِنْ بَنَاتِ الْوَاوِ أَبْدَأُ صَارَتْ عِنْدَهُمْ بِمَنْزِلَةِ أَلْفٍ رَمَى وَنَحْوِهَا. وَنَاسٌ كَثِيرٌ لَا يُمِيلُونَ الْأَلْفَ وَيَفْتَحُونَهَا يَقُولُونَ: حُبْلَى (س 10)

and it comes out as a *yāʔ* [y] and you say *laʔuyziyanna* 'indeed, I would invade'. That does not happen in *ʔasmāʔ* 'names'. If the *wāw* [w] *dʔuʕifat* 'is weakened', then it becomes a *yāʔ* [y]. The *ʔalif* [A] became weaker in the *fiʕl* 'action' due to the changes that attend it. If the *ʔasmāʔ* 'names' with a *wāw* [w] reach or exceed four letters then *ʔimālah* 'inclination' is established, because it comes out as a *yāʔ* [y]. None of this is 'inclined' by many people of (L. 5) Baniy Tamiym or others.

Of those whose *ʔalif* [A] they actually incline is every *ʔism* 'name' whose final letter is an extra *ʔalif* [A] for the feminine or for something else, because they are in the position of the structures with a *yāʔ* [y]. Don't you notice that if you said *miʕzā* → *miʕzē* 'a goat' and *hublā* → *hublē* 'pregnant' in the *faʕaltu* form, according to the number of letters, one of the words will not occur except in structures with the *yāʔ* [y]. Everything that becomes a *yāʔ* [y] like them behaves similarly in the dual or in a *fiʕl* 'action'. If it occurred in words that are always structures without a *wāw* [w], they become, for them, like the case of the *ʔalif* [A] of *ramā* 'he threw',<sup>20</sup> and similar ones. There are many people who do not incline the *ʔalif* [A], but they 'open' it and say *hublā* 'pregnant' (L. 10) and

20 The duals of *hublā* and *ramā* are *hublayā* and *ramayā*, respectively.

وَمِعْزَى. وَمِمَّا يَمِيلُونَ أَلْفَهُ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ كَانَ مِنْ بَنَاتِ الْيَاءِ وَالْوَاوِ مِمَّا هُمَا فِيهِ عَيْنٌ إِذَا كَانَ أَوَّلُ فَعَلْتُمْ مَكْسُورًا نَحْوًا نَحْوَ الْكُسْرَةِ كَمَا نَحْوًا نَحْوَ الْيَاءِ فِيمَا كَانَتْ أَلْفُهُ فِي مَوْضِعِ الْيَاءِ وَهِيَ لُغَةُ لِبَعْضِ أَهْلِ الْحِجَازِ. فَأَمَّا الْعَامَّةُ فَلَا يَمِيلُونَ. وَلَا يَمِيلُونَ مَا كَانَتْ الْوَاوُ فِيهِ عَيْنًا إِلَّا مَا كَانَ مِنْكَسِرِ الْأَوَّلِ وَذَلِكَ خَافَ وَطَابَ وَهَابَ. وَبَلَّغْنَا عَنْ ابْنِ أَبِي إِسْحَاقَ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ كُثَيْرَ عَزَّةَ يَقُولُ صَارَ بِمَكَانِ كَذَا وَكَذَا. وَقَرَأَهَا بَعْضُهُمْ خَافَ. وَلَا يَمِيلُونَ بَنَاتِ الْوَاوِ إِذَا (س 15) كَانَتْ الْوَاوُ عَيْنًا إِلَّا مَا كَانَ عَلَى فَعَلْتُمْ مَكْسُورًا

*miṣzā* 'goat'. Those whose *ʔalif* [A] they incline include everything that belongs to the structures with a *yāʔ* [y] and a *wāw* [w], and in whatever they constitute the *ʕayn* [ʕ] of the form.

If the beginning of the *faʕaltu* form is *maksuwrān* 'broken with an [i]', they leaned towards the *kasrah* 'break [i]', just as they leaned towards the *yāʔ* [y] in those cases where *ʔalif* [A] was in the position of a *yāʔ* [y]. This is the language of some of the people of *ḥigāz*. As for the populace, they do not incline, nor do they incline those cases where the *ʕayn* [ʕ] is a *wāw* [w], except what is *maksuwrān* 'broken with an [i]' in the initial position like *xāfa* → *xēfa* 'he feared', *ʔāba* → *ʔēba* 'he enjoyed' and *hāba* → *hēba* 'he revered'. We have information from *ʔibn ʔabiy ʔishāg* who said he heard *Kuṭayyir ʕazzah* say *sʕāra* → *sʕēra* 'he became' in such and such a place. Some of them read it as *xāfa* → *xēfa* 'he feared'.

They do not incline the structures with the *wāw* [w] if (L. 15) the *wāw* [w] is the *ʕayn* [ʕ] of the form, except what is in the pattern *faʕaltu* with the 'break [i]'

الأول ليس غيره ولا يُميلون شيئاً من بنات المضموم الأول من فَعَلْتُ لأنه لا كسرة يُنْحَى نحوها ولا تُشَبِّه بنات الواو التي الواو فيهن لام لأن الواو قوِّية هاهنا ولا تُضْعَف ضَعْفها ثَمَّة. ألا تراها ثابتة في فَعَلْتُ وأَفْعَلْتُ وفَاعَلْتُ ونحوه. فلَمَّا قويت هاهنا تباعدت من الياء والإمالة وذلك قولك قامَ ودارَ لا يُميلونهما. وقالوا ماتَ وهم الذين يقولون مِتْ. ومن لغتهم صارَ وخَابَ. ومِمَّا تمال ألفه (س 20) قولهم: كَيْلٌ وَبَيْاعٌ. وسمعنا بعض من يوثق بعربيته يقول كَيْلٌ كما ترى فَيُميل. وإنما فعلوا هذا لأن قبلها ياءً فصارت بمنزلة الكسرة التي تكون قبلها نحو سِرَاجٍ وَجِمالٍ. (ص 282) وكثيرٌ من العرب وأهل الحجاز لا يميلون هذه.

in initial position and not otherwise.<sup>21</sup> They incline none of the structures with the *madʿmuwm* ‘close with [u]’ initially in the *faʿaltu* form, because there is no ‘break [i]’ towards which to lean, nor are they like the structures with a *wāw* [w], if the *wāw* [w] in them is the *lām* [l]<sup>22</sup> of the form. The *wāw* [w] here is strong, and does not weaken to its usual weakness there. Don’t you notice that it is firm in the forms *faʿaltu*, *ʔaʿʿaltu*, *fāʿaltu* and similar ones? Since it is strengthened here, it is distanced from the *yāʔ* [y] and inclination, as in your saying *gāma* ‘he rose’<sup>23</sup> and *dāra* ‘he turned’. They do not incline them. They said *māta* → *mēta* ‘he died’, and they are the ones who said *mittu* ‘I died’, and also *sʿāra* → *sʿēra* ‘he became’ and *xāba* → *xēba* ‘he failed’ are from their language. Of those whose (L. 20) *ʔalif* [A] is inclined are their saying: *kayyālun* → *kayyēlun* ‘a thorny tree’ and *bayyāsun* → *bayyēsun* ‘a vendor’. We heard someone whose Arabic is trustworthy say *kayyāl* → *kayyēl* ‘a thorny tree’. As you can see, he inclines. They did this because there is a *yāʔ* [y] before it, and it took the place of the *kasrah* ‘break [i]’ that is before it, like *sirāgin* → *sirēgin* ‘a lamp’, and *gimālin* → *gimēlin* ‘camels’. (P. 282) Many Arabs and people of Ḥigāz do not incline this

21 An illustration of this would be *xāfa-xiftu*; *ʿāba-ʿibtu*, *haba-hibtu*.

22 *lām* [l] is the third radical of the paradigmatic root *ʔfl*.

23 An illustration of this is *Gāma/Gumtu* with no initial break.

الألف. ويقولون شَوْكُ السَّيَالِ وَالضَّيَّاحُ كَمَا قَلَّتْ كَيْالٌ وَبَيَّاعٌ. وَقَالُوا شَيْبَانُ  
وَقَيْسُ عَيْلَانُ وَعَيْلَانُ فَأَمَالُوا لِلْيَاءِ. وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَمِيلُونَ فِي كَيْالٍ لَا يَمِيلُونَ  
هَاهُنَا. وَمِمَّا يَمِيلُونَ أَلْفَهُ قَوْلُهُمْ مَرَرْتُ بَيْبَاهُ وَأَخَذْتُ مِنْ مَالِهِ. هَذَا فِي  
مَوْضِعِ الْجَرِّ شَبَّهَ بِهِ بِفَاعِلٍ نَحْوَ كَاتِبٍ وَسَاجِدٍ. وَالْإِمَالَةُ فِي هَذَا أَوْضَعُ  
لَأَنَّ (س 5) الْكُسْرَةَ لَا تَلْزَمُ. وَاسْمَعْنَاهُمْ يَقُولُونَ: مِنْ أَهْلِ عَادٍ.

*ʔalif* [A]. They say *šawku ʔal-sayāl* → *šawku ʔal-sayēl* ‘thorn of the thorn tree’ and *ʔal-dʿayāh* → *ʔal-dʿayēh* ‘the skimmed milk’, just as you said *kayyālun* → *kayyēlun* ‘a thorny tree’ and *bayyāsun* → *bayyēsun* ‘a vendor’. They said *šaybān* → *šaybēn* ‘Shayban’, and *Gaysu ʔaylāna* → *Gaysu ʔaylēna* ‘Gays from ʔaylen’ and *ʔaylān* → *ʔaylēn* ‘Ghaylān’, so they inclined due to the *yāʔ* [y]. Those who do not incline in *kayyālun* → *kayyēlun* ‘a thorny tree’ they do not incline here.

Of those whose *ʔalif* [A] they incline, they say *marartu bi-bābihi* → *marartu bi-bēbihi* ‘I passed by his door’ and *ʔaxaōtu min mālihi* → *ʔaxaōtu min mēlihi* ‘I took of his property’. This is the place of *garr* ‘pull’,<sup>24</sup> and they likened it to the *fāʔil* → *fēʔil* form, like *kātib* → *kētib* ‘a writer’, and *sāgid* → *sēgid* ‘a worshiper’. The inclination in this is weaker, (L. 5) since the ‘break [i]’ is not obligatory. We have heard them say *min ʔahli ʔādin* → *min ʔahli ʔēdin* ‘from the people of Ad’.

24 *garr* ‘pull’, *nasʿb* ‘erect’, *raff* ‘raise’ and *waGf* ‘pause’, for the most part, are terms used to refer to syntactic function indicated by morphological markers. They are indicated with *kasr* ‘break [i]’, *fath* ‘open [a]’, *dʿamm* ‘close [u]’ or *sukuwn* ‘stillness’, i.e. none of the previous three, respectively. The form is *magruwr* ‘pulled’, *mansʿuwb* ‘erected’ or *marfuwf* ‘raised’, or *sākin* ‘still’ if it is expressed by one of these indicators, respectively.

فَأَمَّا فِي مَوْضِعِ الرَّفْعِ وَالنَّصْبِ فَلَا تَكُونُ كَمَا لَا تَكُونُ فِي أَجْرٍ وَتَأْبَلٍ.  
وَقَالُوا رَأَيْتَ زَيْدًا فَأَمَالُوا كَمَا فَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ بَعْيَلَانِ. وَالْإِمَالَةُ فِي زَيْدٍ أضعف  
لأنه يدخله الرفع. وَلَا يَقُولُونَ رَأَيْتَ عَنبًا فَيَمِيلُوا لأنه ليست فيه ياء كما  
أنك لا تميل ألف كَسَلَانَ لأنه ليست فيه ياء. وَقَالُوا بَرَهْمَانِ. وَقَالُوا رَأَيْتَ  
قَيْرَحًا وَهُوَ أَبْزَارُ الْقَدْرِ. وَرَأَيْتَ عِلْمًا فَيَمِيلُونَ جَعَلُوا الْكُسْرَةَ كَالْيَاءِ. وَقَالُوا  
فِي التَّجَانُّنِ كَمَا (س 10) قَالُوا مَرَرْتُ بِيَابِهِ فَأَمَالُوا الْأَلْفَ. وَقَالُوا فِي  
الْجَرِّ مَرَرْتُ بِعَجَلَانِكَ فَأَمَالُوا كَمَا قَالُوا مَرَرْتُ بِيَابِكَ وَقَالُوا مَرَرْتُ بِمَالٍ  
كَثِيرٍ وَمَرَرْتُ بِالْمَالِ كَمَا تَقُولُ هَذَا مَاشٍ. وَهَذَا دَاعٍ.

As for the position of *raff* 'raise with a [u]' and *nas<sup>b</sup>* 'erect with an [a]', this does not happen as it did not happen in *ʔāgurrin* 'baked clay' and *tābalin* 'spice'. They said *raʔaytu zaydā* → *raʔaytu zaydē* 'I saw Zayd'. They inclined as they did in *ʔaylān* → *ʔaylēn* 'Ghaylān'. Inclination in *zayd* 'Zayd' is weaker because it can be raised. They do not say *raʔaytu ʔabdā* → *\*raʔaytu ʔabdē* 'I saw Abd' and incline, because there is no *yāʔ* [y] in it, just as you do not incline the *ʔalif* [A] of *kaslān* 'lazy', because it doesn't have a *yāʔ* [y]. They said *dirhamān* → *dirhamēn* 'two dirhams'. They said *raʔaytu ʔizhā* → *raʔaytu ʔizhē* 'I saw spices', that is, the spices from the pot, and *raʔaytu ʔilmā* → *raʔaytu ʔilmē* 'I saw knowledge': they incline and consider the 'break [i]' like a *yāʔ* [y]. They said *fi-ʔal-nagādayn* → *fi-ʔal-nagēdayn* 'in the two sword belts' the way (L. 10) they say *marartu bi-bābihi* → *marartu bi-bēbihi* 'I passed by his door'. So they inclined the *ʔalif* [A]. They said in *garr* 'pull' *marartu bi-ʔaglānika* → *marartu bi-ʔaglēnika* 'I passed by your bows'. They inclined just as they said *marartu bi-bābika* → *marartu bi-bēbika* 'I passed by your door'. They said *marartu bi-mālin kaθiyryn* → *marartu bi-mēlin kaθiyryn* 'I passed by a great deal of property' and *marartu bi-ʔal-māli* → *marartu bi-ʔal-mēli* 'I passed by the property', just as you say *hāḏa māši* → *hāḏa mēši* 'this (is) a walker' and *hāḏa dāfi* → *hāḏa dēfi* 'this is a caller'.



فمنهم من يَدْعُ ذاك في الوقف على حاله ومنهم من يَنْصِب في الوقف لأنه  
قد أسكن ولم يَتَكَلَّم بالكسرة فيقول بِالْمَالِ وَمَاشٍ. وَأَمَّا الْآخَرُونَ فتركوه  
على حاله كراهية أن يكون كما لزمه الوقف. وقال ناس رأيتُ عِمَاداً  
فَأَمَلُوا لِلإِمَالَةِ كما أمالوا للكسرة. وقال قوم رأيتُ عِلْماً (س 15)  
ونصبوا عِمَاداً لَمَّا لم يكن قبلها ياءٌ ولا كسرة جُعِلَتْ بمنزلتها في عِبْدًا.  
وقال بعض الذين يقولون في السَّكْتِ بِمَالٍ مِنْ عَبْدٍ اللهُ وَلِزَيْدٍ مَالٌ شَبَّهُوهُ  
بِأَلْفِ عِمَادٍ للكسرة قبلها. فهذا أَقَلُّ من مررتُ بِمَالِكٍ لأن الكسرة منفصلة.  
والذين قالوا مِنْ عَبْدٍ/الله

Some of them leave that as it is in *waḡf* 'pause', and some of them *yansʿub* 'erect with [a]' in the pause, because he could make it quiescent, and he does not say it with the 'break [i]'. Consequently, he says *bi-ʔal-māl* 'with wealth' and *māš* 'walker,' while others leave it be in its state, unwilling that it be as pause requires it to be.

People said *raʔaytu ʕimādā* → *raʔaytu ʕimēdē* 'I saw Imad-d',<sup>25</sup> so they inclined due to an inclination, just as they inclined due to a 'break [i]'. Some people said *raʔaytu ʕilmā* → *raʔaytu ʕilmē* 'I saw knowledge'. (L. 15) They erected *ʕimāda* → *ʕimēda* 'Imād'. When it is not preceded by *yāʔ* [y] or a 'break [i]', it assumes its position in *ʕabda* 'servant'. Some of those said in *sakt* 'silence': *bi-māl* → *bi-mēl* 'with wealth', *min ʕindi ʔal-lāh* → *min ʕindi ʔal-lēh* 'from God', and *li-zaydin māl* → *li-zaydin mēl* 'Zayd has wealth'. They likened it to the *ʔalif* [A] of *ʕimād* → *ʕimēd* 'Imad' due to the 'break [i]' before it. This is less frequent than *marartu bi-mālīka* → *marartu bi-mēlīka* 'I passed by your property', because the 'break [i]' *munfasʿilah* 'is separated'.<sup>26</sup> Those who said *min ʕabdi ʔal-lāh* →

25 One inclination triggers another: *ʕimādā* → *ʕimēdā* → *ʕimēdē*.

26 *Munfasʿilah* 'separated' means that there is more than one word involved, as in between *bi*- 'in' and *mālīka* 'your wealth', as distinguished from *ʕimād* → *ʕimēd*, a single word.

أَكْثَرُ لَكثْرَةِ ذَا الْحَرْفِ فِي كَلَامِهِمْ. وَلَمْ يَقُولُوا *ذَا مَالٍ* يَرِيدُونَ *ذَا* الَّتِي فِي  
هَذَا لِأَنَّ الْأَلْفَ إِذَا لَمْ تَكُنْ طَرَفًا شُبِّهَتْ بِأَلْفِ فَاعِلٍ. وَتَقُولُ *عِمَادًا* تَمِيلُ  
الْأَلْفُ الثَّانِيَةَ لِإِمَالَةِ الْأُولَى.

*min ʕabdi ʔal-lēh* 'from Abdullah' are more numerous, due to the frequency of this expression in their speech. They do not say *ḍā mālun* → *\*ḍē mēlun* 'this is wealth'. They want the *ḍā* → *ḍē* that is in *hāḍā* → *hāḍē* 'this', because the *ʔalif*[A], if it is not at the edge, is likened to the *ʔalif*[A] of the *fāṣil* form, and you say *ʕimādā* → *ʕimēdē* 'Imad-d'; you incline the second *ʔalif*[A] due to the inclination of the first.

## Chapter Two (478)

478. هذا باب من إمالة الألف يميلها فيه ناس من العرب كثير

(م 2. ص 282. س 20) وذلك قولك يريد أن يضربها ويريد أن ينزعها لأن الهاء خفية والحرف الذي قبل الحرف الذي يليه مكسور فكأنه قال يريد أن يضربها كما أنهم إذا قالوا رُدَّها كأنهم قالوا رُدَّا فلذلك قال (ص 283) هذا من قال رُدَّ ورُدُّه صار ما بعد الضاد في يضربها بمنزلة علما. وقالوا في هذه اللغة

## Chapter Two (478)

This is a Chapter on the *ʔimālah* 'Inclination' of *ʔalif* [A]: A Great Number of Arabs Incline It

(Buwlāq vol. 2, pp. 262–4; Derenbourg vol. 2, pp. 282–5; Hāruwn vol. 4, pp. 123–7)

(II, P. 282, L. 20) That is as in your saying *yuriydu ʔan yudʔribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yadʔribahē*. 'he wants to strike her,' and *yuriydu ʔan yanziʔahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yanziʔahē* 'he wants to remove it,' because the *hāʔ* [h] here is *xafiyyah* 'hidden',<sup>27</sup> and the letter that is before the one that follows it is with a 'break [i]'. It is as though he said *yuriydu ʔan yadʔribā* → *yuriydu ʔan yadʔribē* 'he wants that they-d strike'.<sup>28</sup> It is as if they were to say *ruddahā* 'return her' as though they said *ruddā* 'return-d'. That is why the one who said (P. 283) this said *ruddu* and *rudduhu* 'return it'. What is after the *dʔad* [dʔ] in *yadʔribā* → *yadʔribē* 'they-d strike',<sup>29</sup> took the place of *ʔilmā* → *ʔilmē* 'knowledge'. In this *luṣṣah* 'dialect' they said

<sup>27</sup> 'Hidden' in this context is equivalent to absence from pronunciation.

<sup>28</sup> This form with the *hāʔ* [h] has been made equivalent with the dual form.

<sup>29</sup> *yadʔribā* → *yaʔribē* 'they-d strike (her)', is equivalent to *yaʔrib(ah)ā* → *yadʔrib(ah)ē* 'he strikes her.'

مِنْهَا فَأَمَالُوا وَقَالُوا فِي مَضْرِبِهَا وَبِهَا وَبِنَا. وَهَذَا أَجْدَرُ أَنْ يَكُونَ لِأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ  
بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ الْكُسْرَةِ إِلَّا حَرْفٌ وَاحِدٌ. فَإِذَا كَانَتْ تَمَالُ مَعَ الْهَاءِ وَبَيْنَهَا وَبَيْنَ  
الْكَسْرَةِ حَرْفٌ فَهِيَ إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ بَيْنَ الْهَاءِ وَبَيْنَ الْكُسْرَةِ شَيْءٌ أَجْدَرُ أَنْ تُمَالَ  
وَالْهَاءُ خَفِيَّةٌ فَكَمَا تُقَلِّبُ الْأَلْفُ (ص 5) لِلْكَسْرَةِ يَاءٌ كَذَلِكَ أَمَلْتُهَا حَيْثُ  
قُرِبَتْ مِنْهَا هَذَا الْقُرْبَ. وَقَالُوا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنِهَا فَأَمَالُوا فِي الْيَاءِ كَمَا أَمَالُوا فِي  
الْكَسْرَةِ. وَقَالُوا يَرِيدُ أَنْ يَكِيلَهَا وَلَمْ يَكِيلَهَا. وَلَيْسَ شَيْءٌ مِنْ هَذَا تَمَالَ الْفُهِ فِي  
الرَّفْعِ إِذَا قَالَ هُوَ يَكِيلُهَا وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ وَقَعَ بَيْنَ الْأَلْفِ وَبَيْنَ الْكُسْرَةِ الضَّمَّةُ  
فَصَارَتْ حَاجِزًا فَمَنَعَتْ الْإِمَالََةَ لِأَنَّ الْبَاءَ فِي قَوْلِكَ يَضْرِبُهَا فِيهَا إِمَالََةٌ

*minhā* → *min(h)ē* 'from her'. They inclined. They said *madʿribahā* → *madʿrib(ah)ē* 'her camp site',<sup>30</sup> *bihā* → *b(ih)ē* 'in her' and *binā* → *binē* 'in us'. It is better that this occurs, because there is nothing between it and the 'break [i]' except one letter.<sup>31</sup> If it were to be inclined along with the *hā?* [h], and there were a single letter between it and the 'break [i]', there would therefore be nothing between the *hā?* [h] and the 'break [i]'. It is better that it incline, and the *hā?* [h] be hidden. Just as the *ʔalif* [A] is changed to a *yā?* [y], (L. 5) due to the 'break [i]', similarly, you incline it where it comes close to it as in this closeness. They said *bayniy wa baynahā* → *bayniy wa bayn(ah)ē* 'between me and her'. They inclined with the *yā?* [y], just as they inclined with the *kasrah* 'break [i]'. They said *yuriydu ʔan yakiylahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yakiyl(ah)ē* 'he wants to weigh her' and *lam yakilhā* → *lam yakil(h)ē* 'he did not weigh her'. None of this has its *ʔalif* [A] inclined in the case of *raff* 'raise [u]'. If one were to say *huwa yakiyluhā* 'he weighs her', that is because a *dʿammah* 'close [u]' occurred between the *ʔalif* [A] and the 'break [i]', which became a barrier and prevented the inclination, because there is inclination in the *bā?* [b] in your saying *yadʿribahā* → *yadʿrib(ah)ē* 'he strikes her'. There is

30 The loss of [h] leads to a sequence of changes: *madʿribahā* → *madʿribaā* → *madʿribā* → *madʿribē*.

31 With the hiddenness of *hā?* [h], inclination becomes more compelling since the *kasrah* [i] and the *ʔalif* [A] get closer to each other in the sequence.

فلا تكون في المضموم إمالة إذا ارتفعت الباء كما لا يكون في الواو الساكنة إمالة. وإنما كان في الفتح لشبهه الباء (س 10) بالالف. ولا تكون إمالة في لم يعلمها ولم يخفها لأنه ليست هاهنا ياء ولا كسرة تميل الألف. وقالوا فيينا وعليينا فأمالوا للياء حيث قرئت من الألف ولهذا قالوا بييني وبييتها. وقالوا رأيت يدي فأمالوا للياء. وقالوا رأيت يدها فأمالوا كما قالوا يضربا ويضربها. وقال هؤلاء رأيت دما ودمها فلم يميلوا لأنه لا كسرة فيه ولا ياء. وقال هؤلاء عندها لأنه لو قال عندا أمال فلما جاءت

no inclination with the *madʿmuwm* ‘closed with a [u]’ if the *bāʔ* [b] is in *raʃʃ* ‘raise with an [u]’, just as there is no inclination in the *sākinah* ‘quiescent’ *wāw* [w]. There is, however, inclination in the *fath* ‘open with an [a]’, due to the similarity of the *yāʔ* [y] (L. 10) to the *ʔalif* [A]. There is no inclination in *lam yaʃlamhā* ‘he does not know her’ or *lam yaxaʃhā* ‘he does not fear her’ because there is neither a *yāʔ* [y] nor a ‘break [i]’ here to incline the *ʔalif* [A]. They said *fiynā* → *fiynē* ‘in us’ and *ʃalaynā* → *ʃalaynē* ‘against us’.<sup>32</sup> They inclined due to the *yāʔ* [y] when it is proximate to the *ʔalif* [A]. For this reason they said *bayniy wa baynahā* → *bayniy wa bayn(ah)ē* ‘between me and her’. They also said *raʔaytu yadā* → *raʔaytu yadē* ‘I saw hands-d.’, which they inclined due to the *yāʔ* [y], and they said *raʔaytu yadahā* → *raʔaytu yad(ah)ē* ‘I saw her hand’. They inclined, just as they said *yadʿribā* → *yadʿribē* ‘they-d. strike’ and *yadʿribahā* → *yadʿrib(ah)ē* ‘he strikes her’. Those people said *raʔaytu damā* ‘I saw blood’ and *damahā* ‘her blood’. They did not incline because it included neither a ‘break [i]’ nor a *yāʔ* [y]. Those people also said *ʃindahā* → *ʃind(ah)ē* ‘with her’, because if one were to say *ʃindā* → *ʃindē* ‘with’ he would incline. So when the *hāʔ* [h] came along with it, it

32 Inclination here is triggered by the *yāʔ* [y], which functions like a *kasrah* ‘break [i]’.

الهاء صارت بمنزلتها لو لم تجيء (س 15) بها. واعلم أن الذين قالوا رأيت عدا الألف ألف نصب ويريد أن يضربها يقولون هو ميا وإنا إلى الله راجعون وهم بنو تميم. ويقول له أيضا قوم من قيس وأسد ممن ثرتضى عربيته فقال هو ميا وليس منهم وإنا لمختلفون فجعلها بمنزلة رأيت عدا وقال هؤلاء رأيت عينا وهو عندنا فلم يميلوا لأنه وقع بين الكسرة والألف حاجزان قويان ولم يكن الذي قبل الألف هاء فتصير كأنها لم تذكر

assumed its status, even if it did not come (L. 15) with it, the *hāʔ* [h].

Know that there are those who said *raʔaytu ʔiddā* → *raʔaytu ʔiddē* 'I saw Idda' where the *ʔalif* [A] is the *ʔalif* [A] of *nasʔb* 'erection', and *yuriydu ʔan yadʔribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yadʔrib(ah)ē* 'he wants to strike her.' They say *huwa minnā* → *huwa minnē* 'he is one of us' and *ʔinnā ʔila ʔal-lāhi rāgiʔuwn* → *ʔinnē ʔila ʔal-lāhi rāgiʔuwn* 'indeed, to God we return'. These are the people of Baniy Tamiym. People from Qays and ʔasad, with whose Arabic one is satisfied, also say it. He said *huwa minnā wa laysa minkum* → *huwa minnē wa laysa minkum* 'he is one of us and not one of you' and *ʔinnā la-muxtalifuwn* → *ʔinnē la-muxtalifuwn* 'we (are), indeed, different'.<sup>33</sup> He made it stand in the position of *raʔaytu ʔiddā* → *raʔaytu ʔiddē* 'I saw Idda'.<sup>34</sup> Others said *raʔaytu ʔinabā* 'I saw grapes' and *huwa ʔindanā* 'he is with us'. They do not incline, because two powerful barriers occurred between the 'break [i]' and the *ʔalif* [A]. The one before *ʔalif* [A] was not a *hāʔ* [h], so it would become as though *hāʔ* [h] were not mentioned. They

33 Inclination takes place with a quiescent letter intervening. Quiescent letters do affect inclination.

34 There is a parallelism drawn between *ʔinnā* and *ʔiddā*.

وقالوا رأيت ثوبه بتكا فلم (س 20) يميلوا. وقالوا في رجل اسمه ذه رأيت  
 نهما أملت الألف كأنك قلت رأيت بذا في لغة (ص 284) من قال يضربا  
 ومرنا لقربها من الكسرة كقرب ألف يضربا. واعلم أنه ليس كل من أمال  
 الألفات وافق غيره من العرب ممن يميل ولكنه قد يخالف كل واحد من  
 الفريقين صاحبه فينصب بعض ما يميل صاحبه ويميل بعض ما ينصب  
 صاحبه وكذلك من كان النصب من لغته لا يوافق غيره ممن ينصب ولكن  
 أمره وأمر صاحبه (س 5) كأمر الأولين في الكسر. فإذا رأيت عربيا  
 كذلك فلا تُريته خلط في لغته ولكن

said *raʔaytu ʔawbahu bitakā* 'I saw his garment-with-bands'. They do not (L. 20) incline. They said of a man whose name is *ḏih*, *raʔaytu ḏihā* → *raʔaytu ḏ(ih)ē* 'I saw Thih'. You inclined the *ʔalif* [A] as though you said *raʔaytu yadā* → *raʔaytu yadē*<sup>35</sup> 'I saw hands-d.' in the dialect (P. 284) of the one who said *yadʔribā* → *yadʔribē* 'they-d. strike'<sup>36</sup> and *marra binā* → *marra binē* 'he passed by us', due to the *ʔalif* [A]'s closeness to the 'break [i]', like the closeness of the *ʔalif* [A] of *yadʔribā* → *yadʔribē* 'they-d strike'.<sup>37</sup>

Know that not everyone who inclines the *ʔalifāt* [A]s agrees with the other Arabs who incline. Rather, each member of the group may differ from his colleague so that someone *yansʔub* 'erects' what his colleague *yumiylu* 'inclines', and *yumiylu* 'inclines' some others that his colleague *yansʔub* 'erects'. Similarly, one in whose dialect *nasʔb* 'erection' plays a part may not agree with the others who erect. Rather, his case and the case of his colleague (L. 5) is the same case as that of the first two with respect to the *kasr* 'break [i]'. If you were to see an Arab of that persuasion do not fault him as though he mixed his dialect; rather, this is

35 *raʔaytu yadā* → *raʔaytu yadē* 'I saw a hand,' is equivalent to *raʔaytu yad(ah)ā* → *raʔaytu yad(ah)ē* 'I saw her hand'.

36 *yadʔribā* → *yadʔribē* 'they-d strike' is equivalent to *yadʔribahā* → *yadʔribahē* 'they-d strike her.'

37 *ribā* → *ribē* parallels *binā* → *binē*.

هذا من أمرهم. ومن قال رأيتُ يدا/ قال رأيتُ زينا ففوله يينا بمنزلة يدا/ وقال هؤلاء كسرت يدا فصارَت الياء ههنا بمنزلة الكسرة في قولك رأيتُ عتبا. واعلم أن من لا يميل الألفات فيما ذكرنا قبل هذا الباب لا يميلون شئاً منها في هذا الباب. واعلم أن الألف إذا دخلتها الإمالة دخل الإمالة ما قبلها وإذا كانت بعد الهاء فأملتها أملت (س 10) ما قبل الهاء لأنك كأنك لم تذكر الهاء فكما تُتبعها ما قبلها منصوبة كذلك تُتبعها ما قبلها مُمالة. واعلم أن بعض من يميل يقول رأيتُ يداً ويدها فلا يميل تكون الفتحة أغلب

their style. The one who said *raʔaytu yadā* → *raʔaytu yadē* 'I saw a hand' said *raʔaytu ziyānā* → *raʔaytu ziyānē* 'I saw beauty'.<sup>38</sup> His saying *-yanā* → *-yanē* 'beauty'<sup>39</sup> is equivalent to *yadā* → *yadē* 'a hand'. These people say *kasarta yadanā* 'you broke our hand', with *yāʔ* [y] in place of the 'break [i]' in your saying *raʔaytu ʕinabā* → *raʔaytu ʕinabē* 'I saw grapes'.

Know that those who do not incline the *ʔalifāt* [A]s in what we have mentioned before in this chapter do not incline any of them in this chapter.

Know that if *ʔimālah* 'inclination' affects the *ʔalif* [A] it affects what is before it. If it is after the *hāʔ* [h], you incline it and you incline (L. 10) what precedes the *hāʔ* [h], because it is as though you do not mention the *hāʔ* [h]. So, just as what is after it follows it in the *nasʔb* 'erection', so what is before it follows it in the 'inclination'.

Know that some of those who incline say *raʔaytu yadā* and *yadahā* 'I saw her hand'.<sup>40</sup> They do not incline. The *fathah* 'open [a]' is more prevalent, and the

38 *yadā* → *yadē* parallels *ziyanā* → *ziyanē*.

39 *-yanā* → *-yanē* is the last section of *ziyanā* → *ziyanē*.

40 Though the context for inclination is present, the speaker may still preserve the *ʔalif* [A] and not incline it.



وصارت الياء بمنزلة دال دم لأنها لا تُشبه المعتلَّ منصوبة وقال هؤلاء  
 زَيْنًا فهذا ما ذكرتُ لك من مخالفة بعضهم بعضاً. وقال أكثرُ الفريقين  
 إمالة رَمَى فلم يُمِلْ كَرِهَ أن يَنحُو نحوَ الياء إذ كان إنما قرَّ منها كما أن  
 أكثرهم يقول رُدُّ في فُعِلَ فلا يَنحُو نحوَ الكسرة (س 15) لأنه قرَّ ممَّا تَبَيَّنُ  
 فيه الكسرة ولا يقول ذلك في حُبْلَى لأنه لم يفرَّ فيها من ياء ولا في مِعْرَى.  
 واعلم أن ناساً مَمَّنْ يميل في يَضْرِبُهَا وَمِمَّا وَمِنْهَا وَمِنَّا واشباه هذا ممَّا فيه  
 علامة الإضمار إذا وصلوا نصبوها فقالوا يريد أن يَضْرِبَا زَيْدًا ويريد أن  
 يَضْرِبَهَا زَيْدٌ وَمِمَّا زَيْدٌ

*yāʔ* [y] occurred in place of the *dāl* [d] in *damīn* 'blood' because it does not resemble the *muʔtal* 'weak' when *mansʔuwbatan* 'it is erect'. Those said *ziyanā* 'beauty'. This is what I mentioned to you about their disagreements with each other. Most of the two groups speak with the inclination of *ramā* 'he threw'. He does not incline. He disliked leaning towards the *yāʔ* [y] when he was shunning it, just as most of them say *rudda* 'returned' in the *fusiḥ* form. He does not lean towards the 'break [i]' (L. 15) because he shunned that in which the 'break [i]' is displayed. He does not say that in *hublā* 'pregnant' because he is not shunning the *yāʔ* [y] in it, nor in *miʔzā* 'goat'. Know that people who incline in *yadʔribahā* → *yadʔrib(ah)ē* 'he strikes her', *minnā* → *minnē* 'from us', *minhā* → *min(h)ē* 'from her', *binā* → *binē* 'in us', and similar ones that have the mark of *ʔidʔmār* 'implicitness/ pronominalization', if *wasʔaluw* 'they were to connect',<sup>41</sup> *nasʔabuwhā* 'they would erect it'. They would say *yuriydu ʔan yadʔribā zaydan* 'he wants that they-d strike Zayd', *yuriydu ʔan yadʔribahā zaydun* 'he wants Zayd to strike her',<sup>42</sup> *minnā zaydun*

41 *wasʔaluw* 'they were to connect', i.e. when the word is in construction with the following word and not in *wagf* 'pause'.

42 Even though the *ʔalif* [A] is in the context of inclined, it is not inclined because it is construction with Zayd and in *wagf* 'pause'.

وذلك لأنهم ارادوا في الوقف إذا كانت الألف ثمال في هذا النحو أن يبينوا في الوقف حيث وصلوا إلى الإمالة كما قالوا أفعى في أفعى جعلوها في الوقف ياءً فإذا أمالوا كان أبين (س 20) لها لأنه ينحو نحو الياء وإذا وصل ترك ذلك لأن الألف في الوصل أبين كما قال أولئك في الوصل أفعى زيد وقال هؤلاء بيني وبينها وبينها مال. وقد قال قوم فأمالوا أشياء ليست فيها علة مما ذكرنا فيما مضى وذلك قليل سمعنا بعضهم يقول طلبننا وطلبننا زيد كأنه شبه هذه الألف بألف حُبلى حيث كانت آخر الكلام ولم تكن بدلاً من ياء. وقال رأيت عبداً ورأيت عبداً. وسمعنا

‘Zayd (is) one of us’. The reason is that they wanted it in the *wagf* ‘pause’, if the *ʔalif* [A] were to be inclined in this manner, then it would display it in pause where they reached the inclination, just like they said *ʔaffay* ‘snake’ for *ʔaffā* ‘snake’. In pause they make it a *yāʔ* [y]. If they were to incline it would show it better (L. 20) because it leans towards the *yāʔ* [y]. If *wasʔala* ‘he were to connect’ he would leave that out, because the *ʔalif* [A] in ‘connection’ shows better. Like those who said in the case of *wasʔal* ‘connection’ *ʔaffā zaydin* ‘snake of Zayd’, these said *bayniy wa baynahā* → *bayniy wa bayn(ah)ē* ‘between me and her’ and *bayni wa baynahā mālun* ‘between me and her (there is) wealth’.

There are some people who speak and incline items without any of the reasons that we have previously mentioned, but that is infrequent. We heard some of them say *tʔulibnā* → *tʔulibnē* ‘we were requested’, *tʔalabanā zaydun* → *tʔalabanē zaydun* ‘Zayd requested us’,<sup>43</sup> as though he likened this *ʔalif* [A] to the *ʔalif* [A] of *ḥublā* ‘pregnant’, where it was at the end of an utterance, and it was not a substitute for a *yāʔ* [y]. He said *raʔaytu ʔabdā* → *raʔaytu ʔabdē* ‘I saw servants-d’, and *raʔaytu ʔinabā* → *raʔaytu ʔinabē* ‘I saw grapes’.<sup>44</sup> We have heard

43 This is contrary to the norm of inclination and it occurs infrequently.

44 There is no context for inclination, but these forms are associated with the feminine form *ḥublā* → *ḥublē* ‘pregnant’.

هؤلاء قالوا تَبَاعَدَ عَنَّا فَأَجْرُوهُ عَلَى (ص 285) القياس وقول العامة.  
 وقالوا مِعْزَانًا فِي قول من قال عِمَادًا فَأَمَالَهُمَا جَمِيعًا وَذَا قِيَاسٌ. وَمَنْ قَالَ  
 عِمَادًا قَالَ مِعْزَانًا وَهُمَا مُسْلِمَانِ. وَذَا قِيَاسٌ قول غيرهم من العرب لأن  
 قوله لِمَانٍ بِمَنْزِلَةِ عِمَادٍ وَالنُّونُ بَعْدَهُ مَكْسُورٌ فَهَذَا أَجْدَرُ. فَجُمْلَةُ هَذَا أَنَّ كُلَّ  
 مَا كَانَتْ لَهُ الْكُسْرَةُ أَلْزَمَ كَانَ أَقْوَى فِي الْإِمَالَةِ.

these people say *tabāʿada ʿannā* ‘he distanced himself from us’: they set it according (P. 285) to the *Giyās* ‘norm’ and the speech of the populace. They said *miʿzānā* → *miʿzēnē* ‘our goats-d.’ in the speech of one who said *ʿimādā* → *ʿimēdā* ‘Imad-d.’.<sup>45</sup> They inclined both of them. That is the *Giyās* ‘pattern’. The one who said *ʿimādā* → *ʿimēdā* ‘Imad-d’ also said *miʿzānā* → *miʿzēnē* ‘our goats’ and *humā muslimāni* → *humā muslimēni* ‘they (are) muslims-d.’. That is the *Giyās* ‘pattern’ of the Arabs, other than them, because in his saying, *-limāni*<sup>46</sup> is in the position of *ʿimādin* → *ʿimēdin* ‘Imad’, and the *nuwn* [n]<sup>47</sup> after it is with a ‘break [i],’ and this is better. The summary of this is that whatever has the ‘break [i]’ as required is firmer in inclination.

45 The second inclination is triggered by the first inclination in the word.

46 *-limāni* is the end of the word *muslimāni*.

47 This refers to the *nuwn* [n] in *muslimāni* ‘muslims-d.’.

### Chapter Three (479)

479. هذا باب ما أميل على غير قياس وإنما هو شاذ

(م 2. ص 285 . س 5 ) وذلك الحجاج إذا كان اسماً لرجل وذلك لأنه  
كثُر في كلامهم فحملوه على الأكثر لأن الإمالة أكثر في كلامهم. وأكثرُ  
العرب ينصبه ولا يميل ألف حجاج إذا كان صفة يُجرونه على القياس.  
وأما الناس فيميله من لا يقول هذا مالٌ بمنزلة الحجاج وهم أكثر العرب  
لأنها كآلف فاعل إذ كانت ثانية فلم تُمل في غير الجر كراهية أن تكون  
كباب رَمَيْتُ وغَزَوْتُ

### Chapter Three (479)

This is a Chapter on What is Inclined not According to *Giyās*  
'Pattern'; Rather, it is Exceptional

(Buwlāq vol. 2, p. 264; Derenbourg vol. 2, p. 285;  
Hāruwn vol. 4, pp. 127–128)

(II, P. 285, L. 5) That is *ʔal-ḥaggāg* → *ʔal-ḥaggēg* 'Al-Haggag', if it were a name for a man. That is because it is frequent in their speech, so they related it to what is more frequent, because inclination is more frequent in their speech. The majority of the Arabs erect it with an [a], and the *ʔalif* [A] of *ḥaggāg* 'pilgrim' is not inclined if it were a *sʿifah* 'descriptive/adjective'. They relate it to the *Giyās* 'pattern'. As for *ʔal-nās* → *ʔal-nēs* 'the people', one who does not say *hāḍā mālu* → *\*hāḍā mēlu* 'this (is) wealth' inclines it; it has the status of *ʔal-ḥaggāg* 'Al-Haggag'.<sup>48</sup> These are the majority of the Arabs, because it is like the *ʔalif* [A] of the *fāṣil* → *fēṣil* 'actor' form if it is second.<sup>49</sup> It is not inclined in cases other than the *garr* 'pull with an [i]', lest it be like the class of *ramaytu* 'I threw' and *yazawtu* 'I

48 That is as a name of a person.

49 The second letter of *nās* is an *ʔalif* [A], like the second letter of *fāṣil*, that is *maksuwr* 'broken with an [i]' and thus triggers the *ʔimālah* 'inclination'. *nās* is comparable to -*gāg* in *ḥaggāg*.

لأن الواو والياء في قُلْتُ وِغْتُ أَقْرَبُ إِلَى (س 10) غير المعتلِّ وأقوى.  
 وقال ناس يوثق عربيتهم هذا بابٌ وهذا مالٌ وهذا عابٌ لَمَّا كانت بدلاً من  
 الياء كما كانت في رَمَيْتُ شَبَّهْتُ بها وشَبَّهوها في بابِ ومالٍ بالألف التي  
 تكون بدلاً من واو غَزَوْتُ فَتَبَّعْتُ الواو الياء في العين كما تبعتها في اللام  
 لأن الياء قد تُغلب على الواو هنا. وفي مواضع سترها إن شاء الله والذين  
 لا يميلون في الرفع والنصب أكثر العرب وهو أعم في كلامهم. ولا  
 يميلون في الفعل نحو قَالَ (س 15) لأنهم يَفَرِّقُونَ بين ما فَعَلْتُ منه  
 مكسورٌ وبين ما فَعَّلْتُ منه مضمومٌ. وهذا ليس في الأسماء.

invaded', because the *wāw* [w] and the *yāʔ* [y] in *Gultu* 'I said' and *biʃtu* 'I sold' are closer to (L. 10) *ʔayr ʔal-muʃtal* 'the non-weak', and are stronger. People whose Arabic is trustworthy said *hāḍā bābun* → *hāḍā bēbun* 'this (is) a door', *hāḍā mālun* → *hāḍā mēlun* 'this (is) wealth', and *hāḍā ʃābun* → *hāḍā ʃēbun* 'this (is) a disgrace', when it is a substitute for the *yāʔ* [y], just as it was for *ramaytu* 'I threw'. It is likened to it, and they likened it, in *bābun* → *bēbun* 'door' and *mālun* → *mēlun* 'wealth', to the *ʔalif* [A] that is a substitute for the *wāw* [w] of *ʔazawtu* 'I invaded'. The *wāw* [w] followed the *yāʔ* [y] in the *ʃayn*,<sup>50</sup> just as it followed it in the *lām*,<sup>51</sup> because the *yāʔ* [y] overpowers the *wāw* [w] here and in other positions that you shall see, God willing. Those who do not incline in *raʃf* 'raising with an [u]' and *nasʔb* 'erecting with an [a]' are the majority of the Arabs, and that is the most common form in their speech. They do not incline in the *ʃiʃl* 'action' like *ʔāla* 'he said' (L. 15) because they distinguish between those that are *maksuwr* 'broken with an [i]', as in the *ʃaʃiltu* form, and those that are *madʔmuwm* 'closed with a [u]', as in the *ʃaʃultu* form. This does not occur in *ʔasmāʔ* 'names'.

50 *ʃayn* is the second radical of the paradigmatic root *ʃiʃl*.

51 *lām* is the third radical of the paradigmatic root *ʃiʃl*.

## Chapter Four (480)

480. هذا باب ما يمتنع من الإمالة من الألفات التي أملتھا فيما مضى

(م 2. ص 285. س 17) فالحروف التي تُمنعها الإمالة هذه السبعة الصاد والضاد والطاء والظاء والغين والقاف والحاء إذا كان حرفاً منها قبل الألف والألف تليها وذلك قولك قاعِدٌ وغَائِبٌ وخَامِدٌ وصَاعِدٌ وطَائِفٌ (س 20) وضَامِنٌ وظَالِمٌ. وإنما منعت هذه الحروف الإمالة لأنها حروفٌ مستعلية إلى الحنك الأعلى والألف إذا خرجت من موضعها استعلت إلى الحنك الأعلى فلما كانت مع هذه الحروف (ص 286) المستعلية غلبت عليها كما غلبت الكسرة عليها في مساجِدٍ ونحوها. فلما كانت الحروف مستعلية وكانت الألف تستعلى وقربت من الألف كان العمل من وجه واحد أخفَّ عليهم

## Chapter Four (480)

This is a Chapter on Those Whose *ʔalifāt* [A]s are Prevented from *ʔimālah* 'Inclination', But Which You Inclined Before

(Buwlaq vol. 2, pp. 264–7; Derenbourg vol. 2, pp. 285–9; Hāruwn vol. 4, pp. 127–36)

(II, P. 285, L. 17) The letters that prevent it from inclination are these seven: *sʿād* [sʿ], *dʿād* [dʿ], *tʿāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏʿāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] and *xāʔ* [x]. If one of these letters were before the *ʔalif* [A], and the *ʔalif* [A] follows it, as in your saying *ḡāʔidun* 'seated', *ḡāʔibun* 'absent', *xāmidun* 'inactive', *sʿāʔidun* 'climber', *tʿāʔifun* 'wanderer', (L. 20) *dʿāminun* 'guarantor' and *ḏʿālimun* 'oppressor', you blocked the inclination of these letters because they are letters *mustaʔliyah* 'that are raised' towards the upper palate. When the *ʔalif* [A] leaves its position, it rises towards *ʔal-ḥanak ʔal-ʔaʔlā* 'the upper palate'. So when it occurs with these raised letters, (P. 286) they overpower it, just as the *kasrah* 'break [i]' overpowers it in *masāgid* → *masʕgid* 'mosques' and similar ones. When the letters are raised, the *ʔalif* [A] rises, the action is of one type as they near the *ʔalif* [A], and it

كما أن الحرفين إذا تقارب موضعهما كان رفع اللسان من موضع واحد أخفَّ عليهم فيُدْغِمُونَهُ. ولا تَعْلَمُ أَحَدًا يَمِيلُ هَذِهِ الْأَلْفَ إِلَّا مِنْ لَا يُوْخَذُ بِلُغَتِهِ. وكذلك (س 5) إذا كان الحرف من هذه الحروف بعد ألف تَلِيهَا وذلك قولك نَأَقِدُّ وَعَاطِسٌ وَعَاصِمٌ وَعَاضِدٌ وَعَاطِلٌ وَنَاحِلٌ وَوَاعِلٌ. ونحو من هذا قولهم صَنَعْتُ لَمَّا كَانَ بَعْدَهَا الْقَافَ نَظَرُوا إِلَى أَشْبَهِ الْحُرُوفِ مِنْ مَوْضِعِهَا بِالْقَافِ فَأَبْدَلُوهُ مَكَانَهَا. وكذلك إِنْ كَانَتْ بَعْدَ الْأَلْفِ بِحَرْفٍ وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُكَ نَافِخٌ وَنَائِغٌ وَنَافِقٌ وَشَاحِطٌ وَعَاطِلٌ وَنَاهِضٌ وَنَاشِطٌ وَلَمْ يَمْنَعْهُ الْحَرْفُ الَّذِي بَيْنَهُمَا مِنْ هَذَا كَمَا لَمْ يُمْنَعْ السَّيْنُ مِنَ الصَّادِ فِي صَبَقْتُ وَنَحْوِهِ.

becomes easier for them. Just as when two letters, if *mawdʿif* 'their locations-d.' are approximated, the raising of the tongue from only one *mawdʿif* 'location' is easier for them, so they *yudyimuwnahu* 'assimilate it'. We do not know of anyone who inclines this ʔalif [A], except the one whose *huyah* 'dialect' is not acceptable. Similarly, (L. 5) if one of these letters is after an ʔalif [A] that it follows, it becomes as in your saying *nāgidun* 'critic', *ʕātʿisun* 'sneezer', *ʕāsʿimun* 'protector', *ʕādʿidun* 'supporter', *ʕāḍʿilun* 'repetitious', *nāxilun*, 'sifter' and *wāyilun* 'infiltrator'.<sup>52</sup> A similar trend to this is their saying *suGtu* → *sʿuGtu* 'I drove', when there is a *Gāf* [G] after it. They looked for a letter that is more similar in location to *Gāf* [G], and they substituted it in its place. The behavior is similar if it occurs after the ʔalif [A] by a letter, as in your saying *nāfixun* 'blower', *nābiyun* 'gifted', *nāfigun* 'impious', *šāḥiʿun* 'remote', *ʕālitiʿun* 'branded', *nāhidʿun* 'rising' and *nāšiʿun* 'energetic'. The letter that is in between does not prevent this, just as the *siyn* [s] is not prevented from becoming *sʿād* [sʿ] in *sabaGtu* → *sʿabaGtu* 'I preceded' and similar examples.

52 This is the reading of Buwlaq edition (vol. 2, p. 264). Derenbourg has *nāgidun* 'critic', a repetition of the first element in the list.

واعلم أن هذه (س 10) الألفات لا يميلها أحدٌ إلّا من لا يُؤخَذُ بلغته لأنها إذا كانت ممّا يُنصَّب في غير هذه الحروف لزمها النصبُ فلم يفارقها في هذه الحروف إذ كان يدخلها مع غير هذه الحروف. وكذلك إن كان شيء منها بعد الألف بحرفين وذلك قولك مَنَاشِيطٌ وَمَنَافِيخٌ وَمَعَالِيقٌ وَمَقَارِيضٌ وَمَوَاعِيظٌ وَمَبَالِيغٌ. ولم يَمنع الحرفان النصبَ كما لم يُمنع السينُ من الصاد في صَوِيْقٍ ونحوه. وقد قال قوم المَنَاشِيطِ حين تراخت وهي قليلة. فإذا كان (س 15) حرفٌ من هذه الحروف قبل الألف بحرف وكان مكسوراً فإنه لا يَمنع الألف من الإمالة. وليس بمنزلة ما يكون بعد الألف لأنهم يَضَعُونَ ألسنتهم في موضع المستعلية ثم يصوبون ألسنتهم فالانحدارُ أخفٌ عليهم من

Know that (L. 10) no one inclines these *ʔalifāt* [A]s, except the one whose *luyah* 'dialect' is not acceptable, because if they were among those that *yunsʿab* 'are erected' in other than these *ḥuruwf* 'letters' *nasʿb* 'erection' would be required, and the erection will not leave them in these raised letters since erection occurs with other than these letters. The behavior is similar if some of them occurred after the *ʔalif* [A] by two letters, as in your saying *manāšiytʿ* 'combs', *manāfyx* 'bellows', *mašāliḡ* 'pluck of animals', *maḡāriyḏ* 'single blades of shears', *mawāšiyḏ* 'sermons' and *mabāliyy* 'sums of money'.<sup>53</sup> The two letters will not prevent the *nasʿb* 'erection', just as the *siyn* [s] is not prevented from becoming *sʿād* [sʿ] in *sawiyG* → *sʿawiyG* 'barley meal' and similar words. Some people say *manāšiytʿ* → *manēšiytʿ* 'combs' when it is relaxed, but that is rare.<sup>54</sup> If one (L. 15) of these letters were before *ʔalif* [A] by a letter and it was *maksuwwan* 'broken with an [i]', it does not block the *ʔalif* [A] from *ʔimālah* 'inclination'. It does not have the status of what is after the *ʔalif* [A], because they place their tongues in the position of the 'raised' one, then they aim their tongues, because the *ʔinḥidār* 'descent' is easier for them than

53 The *ʔimālah* 'inclination' of *ʔalifs* [A]s comes about in the context of [i]. In these items it is prevented by the presence of the class of the seven letters.

54 The Buwḷāq edition does not indicate *ʔimālah* 'inclination' in this item, but the Derenbourg edition does.



الإصعاد. ألا تراهم قالوا صَبَقْتُ وَصَوِّقْتُ. لَمَّا كَانَ يَثْقُلُ عَلَيْهِمْ أَنْ يَكُونُوا فِي حَالِ تَسْقُلٍ ثُمَّ يَصْعَدُونَ أَلَسْنَتُهُمْ أَرَادُوا أَنْ يَكُونُوا فِي حَالِ اسْتِعْلَاءٍ وَأَنْ لَا يَعْمَلُوا فِي الْإِصْعَادِ بَعْدَ التَّسْقُلِ فَأَرَادُوا أَنْ تَقَعَ أَلْسِنَتُهُمْ (س 20) مَوْقِعًا وَاحِدًا. وَقَالُوا قَسَوْتُ وَقَسْتُ فَلَمْ يَحُولُوا السَّيْنِ لِأَنَّهُمْ انْحَدَرُوا فَكَانَ الْانْحِدَارُ أَخْفَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ الِاسْتِعْلَاءِ مِنْ أَنْ يُصْعَدُوا مِنْ حَالِ التَّسْقُلِ. وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُمُ الضَّعَافُ (ص 287) وَالصَّعَابُ وَالطَّنَابُ وَالصَّفَافُ وَالْقِيَابُ وَالْقِفَافُ وَالْخِيَاثُ وَالْغِلَابُ وَهُوَ فِي مَعْنَى الْمَغَالِبَةِ مِنْ قَوْلِكَ غَالِبُهُ غِلَابًا. وَكَذَلِكَ الظَّاءُ. وَلَا يَكُونُ ذَلِكَ فِي قَائِمٍ وَقَوَائِمٍ. لِأَنَّهُ جَاءَ الْحَرْفُ الْمُسْتَعْلَى مَفْتُوحًا. فَلَمَّا كَانَتِ الْفَتْحَةُ تَمْنَعُ الْأَلْفَ الْإِمَالَةَ فِي عَذَابٍ وَتَأْبَلُ كَانَ الْحَرْفُ الْمُسْتَعْلَى مَعَ الْفَتْحَةِ أَغْلَبَ إِذْ كَانَتِ الْفَتْحَةُ تَمْنَعُ

the ʔisʕād 'ascent'. Haven't you noticed them saying *sabaḡtu* → *sʕabaḡtu* 'I preceded', *suḡtu* → *sʕuḡtu* 'I drove', and *sawayḡ* → *sʕawayḡ* 'barley meal'? When it was burdensome for them to be in the state of *tasafful* 'lowering', then they raised their tongues. They wanted to be in the state of *ʔistiʕlāʔ* 'being raised', and did not want to be working on raising after lowering. They wanted (L. 20) their tongues to land on the one position. They said *Gasawtu* 'I was cruel', *Gistu* 'I measured'. They do not change the *siyn* [s] because they were descending, and descent is easier for them than *ʔistiʕlāʔ* 'ascending'. That is, it is easier for them to raise from the state of lowering, as when they say *ʔal-dʕiʕāf* → *ʔal-dʕiʕēf* 'weaklings', (p. 287) *sʕiʕāb* → *sʕiʕēb* 'difficulties', *tʕināb* → *tʕinēb* 'ropes', *sʕiʕāf* → *sʕiʕēf* 'descriptives', *Gibāb* → *Gibēb* 'domes', *Gifāf* → *Gifēf* 'round boats', *xibāθ* → *xibēθ* 'evils' and *ʔilāb* → *ʔilēb* 'contests', which is of the meaning of *muyālaba* 'competition' in your saying *ʔalabtuhu ʔilāban* → *ʔalabtuhu ʔilēban* 'I competed with him competitively'. The behavior is similar with the *ḏʕāʔ* [ḏʕ]. It is not the case, however, with *Gāʔim* 'upright' and *Gawāʔim* 'legs of a horse', because the raised letter came *maʕtūhan* 'open with an [a]'. Since the 'open [a]' prevents the inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] in *ʕaḏābin* 'torture' and *tābalin* 'spice', the raised letter that is with a *fathah* 'open [a]' prevails as the *fathah* 'open [a]' blocks the

الإمالة فلما اجتمعوا قويا على (س 5) الكسرة. وإذا كان أول الحرف مكسوراً وبين الكسرة والألف حرفان أحدهما ساكن والساكن أحد هذه الحروف فإن الإمالة تدخل الألف لأنك كنت ستميل لو لم يدخل الساكن للكسرة فلما كان قبل الألف بحرف مع حرف تمال معه الألف صار كأنه هو المكسور وصار بمنزلة القاف في قفاف. وذلك قولك ناقة مقلات والمصباح والمطعمان. وكذلك سائر هذه الحروف. وبعض من يقول قفاف ويميل ألف مفعال وليس فيها شيء من (س 10) هذه الحروف ينصب الألف في مصباح ونحوه لأن حرف الاستعلاء جاء ساكناً غير مكسور وبعده الفتح فلما جاء مُسكناً تليه الفتحة صار بمنزلة القاف لو كان متحرراً بعده الألف وصار بمنزلة القاف في

inclination. So when both team up, they overpower (L. 5) the *kasrah* 'break [i]'. If the beginning of the word was 'broken with an [i]' and between the *kasrah* 'break [i]' and the *ʔalif* [A] there are two letters, one of which is *sākin* 'quiescent', then inclination will affect the *ʔalif* [A], because you would have inclined if the quiescent did not occur, due to the 'break [i],' and since it was before the *ʔalif* [A] by one letter, with a letter in which the *ʔalif* [A] is inclined, it became as though it were the one 'broken with an [i],' and it had the status of the *Gāf* [G] in *Gifāf* → *Gifēf* 'round boats'. This is the case with your saying *nāGatun miGlāt* → *nāGatun miGlēt* 'a roasted she-camel', *ʔal-mis̄bāh* → *ʔal-mis̄bēh* 'the lamp' and *ʔal-mit̄ʕān* → *ʔal-mit̄ʕēn* 'the piercer'. Thus are the rest of these letters. Some who say *Gifāf* → *Gifēf* 'round boats', and incline the *ʔalif* [A] of the *miffāl* → *miffēl* form without there being any (L. 10) of these letters, they also erect the *ʔalif* [A] in *mis̄bāh* 'lamp' and similar ones, because the letter of *ʔistiʕlāʔ* 'raising' was *sākinah* 'quiescent', not 'with an [i],' and was followed by the *fath* 'open [a]'. So, when there was a quiescent followed by the 'open [a],' it had its status as though it *mutaḥarrikan* 'were set in motion' followed by an *ʔalif* [A]. It had the status of the *Gāf* [G] in

قَوَىٰ نِمَ. وكلاهما عربيٌّ له مذهبٌ. وتقول رأيتُ قَرْحًا وآتيتُ ضِمَّتًا فتميل  
 وهما هاهنا بمنزلتهم في صِفَافٍ وَقِفَافٍ. وتقول رأيتُ عِرْقًا ورأيتُ مِلْعًا  
 لأنهما بمنزلتهم في غَانِمٍ والقاف بمنزلتها في قَانِمٍ. وسمعناهم يقولون أراد  
 أن يَضْرِبَهَا زَيْدٌ (س 15) فأمالوا. ويقولون أراد أن يَضْرِبَهَا قَبْلُ فنصبوا  
 للقاف وأخواتها. فأما نَابٌ وَمَالٌ وَبَاعٌ فَإِنَّهُ مِنْ يُمِيلُ يُلْزِمُهَا الإِمَالَةَ عَلَى  
 كُلِّ حَالٍ لَّأَنَّهُ إِنَّمَا يَنْحُو نَحْوَ الْيَاءِ الَّتِي الْأَلْفُ فِي مَوْضِعِهَا. وكذلك خَافَ  
 لَّأَنَّهُ يَرُومُ الْكُسْرَةَ الَّتِي فِي خِفْتُ كَمَا نَحَا نَحْوَ الْيَاءِ. وكذلك أَلْفٌ حُبْلَى  
 لَّأَنَّهُ فِي بَنَاتِ الْيَاءِ. وقد بُيِّنَ ذَلِكَ. ألا تراه يقولون طَابَ وخَافَ وَمُعْطَى  
 وَسَقَى فَلَا تَمْنَعُهُمْ هَذِهِ الْحُرُوفُ مِنْ

*Gawāʔim* 'legs of a horse': they are both Arabic with their adherents. You say *raʔaytu gizhā* → *raʔaytu gizhē* 'I saw the cooking spices' and *ʔāyatu dʔimnā* → *ʔāyatu dʔimnē* 'I offered the contents'. You incline, for they are the same status as *sʔifāf* → *sʔifēf* 'ranks' and *gīfāf* → *gīfēf* 'round boats'. You say *raʔaytu sirgā* 'I saw a root' and *raʔaytu milyā* 'I saw an offender' because they have the same status as *ʔānimin* 'Ghanim', and *gāf* [G] is in its status in *gāʔim* 'upright'. We heard them saying *ʔarāda ʔan yadʔribahā zaydun* → *ʔarāda ʔan yadʔrib(ah)ē zaydun* 'he wanted Zayd to strike her' (L. 15). They inclined. They say *ʔarāda ʔan yadʔribahā gablu* 'he wanted to strike her before'. They 'erected' the *gāf* [G] and its sisters. As for *nāba* 'represent', *māla* 'he inclined' and *bāsa* 'he sold', whoever inclines them, he inclines them obligatorily in every case because he leans towards the *yāʔ* [y], in whose location there is an *ʔalif* [A]. He behaves similarly with *xāfa* 'he feared' because he is looking for the *kasrah* 'break [i]' that is in *xiftu* 'I feared' and thus he leaned towards the *yāʔ* [y]. He behaves similarly with the *ʔalif* [A] of *hublā* → *hublē* 'pregnant' because it is of the structures of *yāʔ* [y], and that has been clarified. Don't you notice them saying *ʔāba* → *ʔēba* 'be pleasant', *xāfa* → *xēfa* 'he feared', *muʔʔā* → *muʔʔē* 'gifted' and *sagā* → *sagē* 'watered'? These letters do not prevent them from

الإمالة وكذلك بابُ عَزَا لأن الألف هاهنا كأنها (س 20) مُبْدَلَةٌ من ياء. ألا ترى أنهم يقولون صَغَا وَضَغَا. ومِمَّا لا تمال ألفه فاعِلٌ من المضاعَف ومُقَاعِلٌ وأشباههما لأن الحرف قبل الألف مفتوح والحرف الذي بعد الألف ساكن لا كسرة فيه فليس هنا ما يميله. وذلك قولك هذا جَادٌ وَمَادٌ وجَوَادٌ جمعُ جَادَةٍ ومررتُ (ص 288) برَجُلٍ جَادٌ فلا يميل يكره أن يَنحُو نحوَ الكسرة فلا يميل لأنه فَرٌّ مِمَّا يحقق فيه الكسرة ولا يميل للجرِّ لأنه إنما كان يميل في هذا للكسرة التي بعد الألف فلَمَّا فقدها لم يُمِلْ. وقد أَمَالَ قوم في الجرِّ شَبَّهوها بِمَالِكٍ إذا جعلتَ الكاف اسمَ المضاف إليه. وقد أَمَالَ قومٌ على كلِّ حال كما قالوا هذا مَاشٌ لِيَبَيِّنُوا الكسرة

inclination.<sup>55</sup> The case of *yazā* → *yazē* 'invaded-d' is similar, because it is as if the *ʔalif* [A] here (L. 20) is substituted for a *yāʔ* [y]. Don't you notice them saying *sʔayā* → *sʔayē* 'listened-d' and *dʔayā* → *dʔayē* 'cheated'? Of those whose *ʔalif* [A] is not inclined are the doubled of the *fāʔil* form, the *mufāʔil* form and their likes, because the letter before the *ʔalif* [A] is open, and the letter that is after *ʔalif* [A] is quiescent with no 'break [i].' Hence, there is nothing here that will incline it, and in your saying *hāḏa gāddun wa māddun wa gawāddun* 'this (is) serious, and substance and substances' it is the plural of *gāddatun* 'main street'. With *marartu* (P. 288) *bi-ragulin gāddin* 'I passed a serious man' he does not incline. He hates to lean towards the *kasrah* 'break [i]'. He does not incline, because he has escaped from that in which a *kasrah* 'break [i]' has been established. He does not incline due to *garr* 'pull' because he was inclining in this due to the *kasrah* 'break [i]' that is after the *ʔalif* [A]. So, when he lost it, he did not incline. There are people who incline in *garr* 'pull', and they likened it to *bi-mālika* → *bi-mēlika* 'with your property', if you consider the *kāf* [k] the name for the *mudʔāf ʔilayhi* 'annexed-to'. Some people inclined in every case as they said *hāḏa māš* → *hāḏa mēš* 'this (is) a walker', in order to show the *kasrah* 'break

55 These forms show inclination even though they include the letters that prevent it from occurring.

في الأصل. وقال بعضهم (س 5) مررتُ بِمَالِ قَاسِمٍ ومررتُ بِمَالِ مَلِيقٍ  
ومررتُ بِمَالِ يَنْقَلٍ ففُتِحَ هذا كُلُّهُ. وقالوا مررتُ بِمَالِ زَيْدٍ فَإِنَّمَا فُتِحَ الْأَوَّلُ  
لِلْقَافِ شُبَّهَ ذَلِكَ بِعَاقِدٍ وَنَاعِقٍ وَمَنَاشِيطٍ. وقال بعضهم بِمَالِ قَاسِمٍ ففُتِحَ بَيْنَ  
الْمَنْفَصْلِ وَالْمُتَّصِلِ وَلَمْ يَقَوْ عَلَى النَّصْبِ إِذْ كَانَ مَنْفَصِلًا. وَقَدْ فَصَلُوا بَيْنَ  
الْمَنْفَصْلِ وَغَيْرِهِ فِي أَشْيَاءَ سُنْبِيْنٍ لَكَ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ. وَسَمِعْنَاهُمْ يَقُولُونَ يَرِيدُ  
أَنْ يَضْرِبَهَا زَيْدٌ وَمِمَّا زَيْدٌ فَلَمَّا جَاءُوا بِالْقَافِ فِي هَذَا النِّحْوِ نَصَبُوا فَقَالُوا  
أَرَادَ أَنْ يَضْرِبَهَا قَاسِمٌ (س 10) وَمِمَّا فَضَّلَ وَأَرَادَ أَنْ يَعْلَمَهَا مَلِيقٌ وَأَرَادَ أَنْ  
يَضْرِبَهَا سَمَلَقٌ

[i]’ in the original. Some of them said (L. 5) *marartu bi-māli Gāsimin* ‘I passed by the property of Qāsim’, *marartu bi-māli maliḡin* ‘I passed by the property of a flatterer’, *marartu bi-māli yanḡalu* ‘I passed by the property of Yanḡalu’. All these are ‘open with an [a]’. They said *marartu bi-māli zaydin* → *marartu bi-mēli zaydin* ‘I passed by the property of Zayd’. The first was opened due to the *Gāf* [G],<sup>56</sup> and was likened to *ṣāḡid* ‘binder’, *nāfiḡ* ‘croaker’ and *manāšiyt* ‘combs’. Some of them said *bi-māli Gāsimin* → *bi-mēli Gāsimin* ‘by the property of Qāsim’. The *munfas*’il ‘unconnected’ and the *muttas*’il ‘connected’ are distinguished. They are not powerful enough to ‘erect’ if they are unconnected. They have kept separate the unconnected and others in matters that will become clear, God willing. We have heard them say *yuriydu ʔan yaḏ’ribahā zaydun* → *yuriydu ʔan yaḏ’rib(ah)ē zaydun* ‘he wants Zayd to strike her’ and *minnā zaydun* → *minnē zaydun* ‘Zayd (is) one of us’. When a *Gāf* [G] appeared in this context, *nas*’abuw ‘they erected’ and said *yuriydu ʔan yaḏ’ribahā Gāsimun* ‘he wants Qāsim to strike her’ (L. 10), *minnā faḡlun* ‘winnow (is) one of us’,<sup>57</sup> *ʔarāda ʔan yaṣlamahā maliḡun* ‘he wanted a flatterer to know her’, *ʔarāda ʔan yaḏ’ribahā samlaḡun* ‘he

56 The reference here is to the previous three examples that contain *Gāf* [G].

57 Buwlaḡ has *faḏ’lun* ‘benefit’ in place of *faḡlun*.

وأراد أن يَضْرِبَهَا يَنْقُلُ وأراد أن يَضْرِبَنَا بِسَوَطٍ نصبوا لهذه المستعلية  
 وغلبت كما غلبت في مَنَاشِيطٍ ونحوها وصارت الهاء والألف كالفاء  
 والألف في فاعِلٍ ومَفَاعِيلٍ وضارعت الألف في فاعِلٍ ومَفَاعِيلٍ ولم يَمْنَعِ  
 النصب ما بين الألف وهذه الحروف كما لم يَمْنَعِ في السَّمَالِيْقِ قلب السين  
 صاداً وصارت المستعلية في هذه الحروف أقوى منها في مَالٍ قاسِمٍ لأن  
 القاف هنا ليست من الحرف وإنما (س 15) شَبَّهَتْ أَلْفَ مَالٍ بِأَلْفِ فاعِلٍ.  
 ومع هذا أنها في كلامهم يَنْصِبُهَا أَكْثَرُهُمْ في الصلة أجروها على ما  
 وصفت لك. فتقول مَيَّا زَيْدٌ وَيَضْرِبُهَا زَيْدٌ إذ لم تُشَبَّهْ الألفات الأخرى. ولو  
 فَعَلَ بِهَا مَا فَعَلَ بِالمال لم يستتكر في قول من قال بِمالٍ قاسِمٍ. وقالوا هذا  
 عِمَادُ قاسِمٍ وهذا عَالِمٌ قاسِمٍ

wanted Samlaq to strike her', *ʔarāda ʔan yaḏ'ribahā yaŋganlu* 'he wanted Yanqal to strike her' and *ʔarāda ʔan yaḏ'ribanā bisawl* 'he wanted to strike us with a whip'. They 'erected' due to these *mustaʔliyah* 'raised ones', and they prevailed as they prevailed in *manāʔiyl* 'combs' and its likes. The *hāʔ* [h] and *ʔalif* [A] became like the *fāʔ* [f] and *ʔalif* [A] in the *fāʔil* and *maʔāʔiyl* forms, and it resembled the *ʔalif* [A] in the *fāʔil* and *maʔāʔiyl* forms, and the *nasʔb* 'erect' is not blocked between the *ʔalif* [A] and these letters, just as the conversion of *siyn* [s] to *sʔād* [sʔ] is not blocked in *samāliyg* → *sʔamāliyg* 'waste lands'. The *mustaʔliyah* 'raised ones' in these *ḥuruwf* 'words' are stronger than in *māli Gāsimin* 'property of Qāsim', because the *gāf* [G] here is not part of the word; rather the *ʔalif* [A] of *mālin* 'property' (L. 15) was likened to the *ʔalif* [A] of the *fāʔil* form, and as a consequence of this, in the speech of most of them *yansʔubuwhā* 'they erect it' in the *sʔilah* 'annexation'. They made it follow what I described for you. You say *minnā zaydun* 'Zayd is one of us' and *yaḏ'ribuhā zaydun* 'Zayd strikes her', since they do not resemble the other *ʔalifāt* [A]s. If it were treated as *māl* 'property' was treated one would not disapprove of the saying of the one who said *bi-māli Gāsimin* → *bi-mēli Gāsimin* 'with the property of Qāsim'. They said *hāḏa ʔimādu Gāsimin* → *hāḏa ʔimēdu Gāsimin* 'this is Qāsim's pillar', *hāḏa ʔālimu Gāsimin* →

وَنُعْمَى قَاسِمٍ فَلَمْ يَكُنْ عِنْدَهُمْ بِمَنْزِلَةِ الْمَالِ وَمَتَاعٍ وَعَجَلَانِ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ أَلْ مَالٍ  
 آخِرُهُ يَتَغَيَّرُ وَإِنَّمَا يَمَالُ فِي الْجَرِّ فِي لُغَةٍ مِنْ أَمَالٍ فَإِنْ تَغَيَّرَ آخِرُهُ عَنِ الْجَرِّ  
 نُصِبَتْ أَلْفُهُ. وَالَّذِي أَمَالُ لَهُ (س 20) الْأَلْفُ فِي عِمَادٍ وَعَابِدٍ وَنَحْوَهُمَا مِمَّا  
 لَا يَتَغَيَّرُ فَبِمَالَةٍ هَذَا أَبَدًا لِأَزْمَةٍ فَلَمَّا قَوِيَتْ هَذِهِ الْقُوَّةُ لَمْ يَقَوْ عَلَيْهِمَا الْمَنْفَصَلُ.  
 وَقَالُوا لَمْ يَضْرِبْهَا الَّذِي تَعْلَمُ فَلَمْ يَمِيلُوا لِأَنَّ الْأَلْفَ قَدْ ذَهَبَتْ وَلَمْ يَجْعَلُوها  
 بِمَنْزِلَةِ أَلْفِ حُبْلَى وَمَرْمَى وَنَحْوَهُمَا. وَقَالُوا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَعْلَمَ وَأَنْ يَضْبُطَ فَتَحَ  
 لِلطَّاءِ وَأَرَادَ أَنْ يَضْبُطَهَا. وَقَالُوا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَعْقِلَ

*hāḍa ʔēlimu Gāsimin* 'this is a knower of Qāsim', and *nuṣmā Gāsimin* → *nuṣmē Gāsimin* 'a favor of Qāsim'. It does not have the same status for them as *māl* 'wealth', *matāṣ* 'pleasure' and *ʔaglān* 'swift', for the ending of *māl* 'property' changes, but it is inclined in *garr* 'pull with an [i]' in the language of those who inclined. If its ending changes apart from *garr* 'pull with an [i]', its *ʔalif*[A] is 'erected'. The person (L. 20) who inclines the *ʔalif*[A] in *ʔimād* 'Imad' and *ʔābid* 'Abid' and their like, of those that do not change the inclination of this is ever obligatory. When it is of such a power, the *munfasʔil* 'unconnected' cannot overpower it. They say *lam yaḍʔribhā ʔal-laḍiy taṣlam* 'the one you know does not strike her': they did not incline since the *ʔalif*[A] had gone, and they did not consider it comparable to the *ʔalif*[A] of *ḥublā* → *ḥublē* 'pregnant', *marmā* → *marmē* 'aim' and their like. They said *ʔarāda ʔan yaṣlimā*<sup>58</sup> 'he wished that they-d. know' and *ʔarāda ʔan yaḍʔbitʔā* 'he wished that they-d grasped':<sup>59</sup> it was 'open with an [a]' due to the *ʔāʔ* [tʔ], and *ʔarāda ʔan yaḍʔbitʔā hā* 'he wished to adjust it'. They said *ʔarāda ʔan yaṣgilā* → *ʔarāda ʔan yaṣgilē* 'he wished that they-d. wise

58 Buwlaq has *yuṣlimā* [translation] in place of *yaṣlimā*. It could also stand for *yuṣlimahā* 'he informs her' (vol. 2, p. 266).

59 *yaḍʔbiṭā* 'they-d. grasp' could stand for *yaḍʔbiṭahā* 'he grasps her'.

لأن القاف مكسورة فهي بمنزلة قفاف. وقالوا رأيت ضيقاً ومضيّقاً كما قالوا  
 علقاً ورأيتُ علماً كثيراً فلم يميلوا لأنها نون (ص 289) وليست كالألف في  
 معنًى ومِعْزَى. وقد أمال قومٌ في هذا ما ينبغي أن يمال في القياس وهو قليل  
 كما قالوا طَلَبْنَا وَعَبَا. وذلك قول بعضهم رأيتُ عِرْقاً وضيقاً. فلما قالوا طَلَبْنَا  
 وَعَبَا فشبهوها بألف حُبْلَى جرّاهم ذلك على هذا حيث كانت فيها علّة  
 ثميل القاف وهي الكسرة التي في أوله وكان هذا أجدر أن يكون عندهم.  
 وسمعناهم يقولون (س 5) رأيتُ سَبَقاً حيث فتحوا. وإنما طَلَبْنَا وَعِرْقاً  
 كالشواذ لقلتها. واعلم أن بعض من يقول عابَدَ من العرب فيميل يقول مررتُ  
 بمالكٍ فينصب لأن الكسرة

up', because the *gāf*[G] is 'broken with an [i]', so it has the status of *Gifāf* → *Gifēf* 'round boats'. They said *raʔaytu dʔiygā wa maḏʔiygā* 'I saw the narrowing and the straits', just as they said *silgā* 'precious object', and *raʔaytu silman kaθiyrān* 'I saw ample knowledge'. They did not incline because it is *nuwn* [n] (P. 289) and it is not like the *ʔalif*[A] in *maḥnā* 'meaning' and *miḥzā* 'goat'. Some people have inclined here what should not be inclined according to the *Giyās* 'pattern', but it is rare, and they said *tʔalabanā* → *tʔalabanē* 'he requested us' and *sinabā* → *sinabē* 'grapes'. That is like some of them saying *raʔaytu sirgā wa dʔiygā* → *raʔaytu sirgē wa dʔiygē* 'I saw stems and straits'. When they said *tʔalabanā* → *tʔalabanē* 'he requested us', *sinatā* → *sinatē* 'transgression' and *sinabā* → *sinabē* 'grapes' they likened them to the *ʔalif*[A] of *ḥublā* → *ḥublē* 'pregnant'. That emboldened them to do this where there was a reason to incline the *gāf*[G], which is the *kasrah* 'break [i]', that is at its beginning. It is better that they follow this. We have heard them say (L. 5) *raʔaytu sabagā* 'I saw a race', where they 'open with an [a]'. As to *tʔalabanā* → *tʔalabanē* 'he requested us' and *siragā* → *siragē* 'stems', they are like exceptions, due to their infrequency.

Know that some of the Arabs say *sābid* → *sēbid* 'worshiper': they incline. They say *marartu bi-mālika* 'I passed by your property': they 'erect' because the *kasrah*



ليست في موضع يلزم وآخر الحرف قد يتغير فلم يَقَوْ عندهم كما قال بعضهم بِمَالِ قَاسِمٍ ولم يقل عِمَادُ قَاسِمٍ. ومِمَّا لَا يَمِيلُونَ أَلْفَهُ حَتَّى وَأَمَّا وَإِلَّا فَرَقُوا بَيْنَهَا وَبَيْنَ أَلْفَاتِ الْأَسْمَاءِ نَحْوِ حُبْلَى وَعَطَشَى. وقال الخليل لو سَمَّيْتَ رَجُلًا بِهَا وَامْرَأَةً جَازَتْ فِيهَا الْإِمَالَةُ. ولكنهم (س 10) يميلون في أُنَى لِأَنَّ أُنَى تَكُونُ مِثْلَ أَيْنَ وَأَيْنَ كَخَلْفَكَ وَإِنَّمَا هُوَ اسْمٌ صَارَ ظَرْفًا فَقَرُبَ مِنْ عَطَشَى. وقالوا لَا فَلَمْ يَمِيلُوا لِمَا لَمْ يَكُنْ اسْمًا فَرَقُوا بَيْنَهَا وَبَيْنَ ذَا. وقالوا مَا فَلَمْ يَمِيلُوا لِأَنَّهُ لَا تَمَكَّنُ تَمَكَّنَ ذَا. ولأنها لَا تَتَمُّ اسْمًا إِلَّا بِصِلَةٍ مَعَ أَنَّهَا لَمْ تَمَكَّنْ تَمَكَّنَ الْمُبْهَمَةُ فَرَقُوا بَيْنَ الْمُبْهَمَيْنِ إِذْ كَانَ ذَا حَالَهُمَا. وقالوا بَا وَتَا فِي حُرُوفِ الْمَعْجَمِ لِأَنَّهُمَا أَسْمَاءُ

‘break [i]’ is not in the proper place, and the end of the word varies, therefore it is not strong enough for them. Some of them said *bi-māli qāsimin* ‘with the wealth of Qāsim’ and do not say *ʔimādu qāsimin* → \**ʔimēdu qāsimin* ‘Qāsim’s pillar’. Of those whose *ʔalif* [A] they do not incline are *hattā* ‘until’, *ʔammā* ‘as for’ and *ʔillā* ‘except’. They distinguished between them and the *ʔalifāt* [A]s of ‘names’ like *hublā* ‘pregnant’ and *ʔatʔšā* ‘thirsty’. Al-Khalīl<sup>60</sup> said that if you named a man or a woman with them, then inclination would be permitted in them. They, however, (L. 10) incline *ʔannā* → *ʔannē* ‘whence’, because *ʔannā* → *ʔannē* ‘whence’ is like *ʔayna* ‘where’. *ʔayna* ‘where’ is like *xalfaka* ‘behind you’, which is a name that became a *dʔarf* ‘envelope (of place)’, and it approximated *ʔatʔšā* ‘thirsty’. They said *lā* ‘no’. They do not incline it, since it is not an *ʔism* ‘name’. They distinguished between it and *ḍā* → *ḍē* ‘that’. They said *mā* ‘whatever’, and they do not incline because it does not have the same potential of *ḍā* → *ḍē* ‘that’, because it does not complete a name except in *sʔilah* ‘annexation’, and because it does not have the potential of the *mubhamah* ‘unspecified’. They distinguished between the two ‘unspecified ones’, since that was their status. They said *bā* → *bē* [b], and *tā* → *tē* [t] of the letters of the dictionary, because they are names for what

60 Al-Khalīl ʔibn ʔahmad al-Farāhīdī (d. AH 175/AD 791) was the teacher of Sibawayh.

ما يُلَفِّظُ به وليس فيها ما في قَدْ ولا وإنما جاءت كسائر الأسماء لا لمعنى  
 آخر. وقالوا (س 15) يَا زَيْدُ لِمَكَانِ الْيَاءِ. ومن قال هذا مَالٌ ورأيت باباً  
 فإنه لا يقول على حال ساقٍ ولا قارٍ ولا غابٍ وغابٌ الأجمة فهي كالف  
 فاعلٍ عند عامتهم لأن المعتلَّ وسطاً أقوى فلم يبلغ من أمرها هاهنا أن  
 تمال مع مُسْتَعْلٍ كما أنهم لم يقولوا بال من بُلْتُ حيث لم تكن الإمالة قوياً  
 في المال ولا مستحسنة عند العامة.

is pronounced, and there is nothing in them like *Gad* 'indeed' and *lā* 'no'. They are like the rest of the names, and not for another meaning. They said (L. 15) *yā zayd* → *yē zayd* 'hey, Zayd', due to the place of *yāʔ* [y]. The one who said *hāḍā mālun* → *hāḍā mēlun* 'this (is) wealth' and *raʔaytu bābā* → *raʔaytu bēbē* 'I saw Daddy' does not say in the same situation *sāGun* → *sēGun* 'leg', *Gārun* → *Gērun* 'tar' or *γābun* → *γēbun* 'forest', and *γābun* 'forest' is for the collective. They are like the *ʔalif* [A] of the *fāʔil* form for the majority of them, because the weak medially is stronger, and, in this case, it has not reached the stage where it will be inclined with the 'raised.' Nor do they say *bāla* → *bēla* 'he urinated' from *bultu* 'I urinated', where the inclination is not strong in *ʔal-māl* → *ʔal-mēl* 'the wealth' nor favored by the populace.

## Chapter Five (481)

### 481. هذا باب الرء

(م 2. ص 289. س 19) والرء إذا تكلّمت بها خرجت كأنها مضاعفة والوقف يزيدها (س 20) إيضاحاً فلما كانت الرء كذلك قالوا هذا رآشيد وهذا فرآش فلم يميلوا لأنهم كأنهم قد تكلموا براءين مفتوحتين فلما كانت كذلك قويت على نصب الألفات وصارت بمنزلة القاف حيث كانت بمنزلة حرفين مفتوحين فلما كان الفتح كأنه مضاعف وإنما هو من الألف كان العمل من وجه واحد أخفّ عليهم. وإذا كانت الرء بعد ألف (ص 290) تمال لو كان بعدها غير الرء لم تمل في الرفع والنصب وذلك قولك: هذا جمار كأنك قلت هذا فعّال. وكذلك في النصب كأنك قلت فعّالاً

## Chapter Five (481)

### This is a Chapter on the *rāʔ* [r]

(Buwlāq vol. 2, pp.267–71; Derenbourg vol. 2, pp. 289–93;  
Hāruwn vol. 4, pp.136–42)

(II, p. 289, L. 19) The *rāʔ* [r], if you speak it, comes out as though it is doubled, and *waḡf* ‘pause’ adds to its clarity. Since the *rāʔ* [r] was like that, they said *hāḏā rāšidun* ‘this (is) Rāshid’ and *hāḏā firāšun* ‘this (is) a bed’. They did not incline because they spoke as though there were two *rāʔ* [r]s ‘open with an [a].’ Since it was like that, it firmed up the *nasʔb* ‘erect’ in the *ʔalifāt* [A]s and had the status of *ḡaf* [ḡ], where it was in place of *maḡtuwḡayn* ‘two letters open with an [a]’. Since the *fath* ‘open [a]’ was as though doubled, and since it was from the *ʔalif* [A], the effort was from the same direction, and it was easier for them. If the *rāʔ* [r] was after an *ʔalif* [A], (P. 290) it was inclined if there was after it other than *rāʔ* [r]. It is not inclined in the *raḡf* ‘raise with [u]’ or in the *nasʔb* ‘erect with an [a]’. Your saying *hāḏā ḡimārūn* ‘this (is) an ass’ is as though you said *hāḏā fiḡālulun*.<sup>61</sup> Similarly with the *nasʔb* ‘erect’, it is as though you said *hāḏā fiḡālalan*.

<sup>61</sup> *fiḡālulun* is the pattern for *ḡimārurūn* when [r] is considered a doubled letter, and *fiḡālalan* is the pattern for *ḡimāraran*.

فغلبتْ هاهنا فنصبتْ كما فعلتْ ذلك قبل الألف. وأما في الجرّ فتميل الألف  
كان أول الحرف مكسوراً أو مفتوحاً أو مضموماً لأنها كأنها حرفان  
مكسوران فتميل هاهنا كما غلبتْ حيث كانت مفتوحة (س 5) فنصبتْ  
الألف. وذلك قولك من حمارك ومن عوارٍ ومن المَعَارِ ومن الدَّوَارِ كأنك  
قلتْ فُعَالِلُ وفَعَالِلُ. ومما تَغْلِبُ فيه الرَاءُ قولك قَارِبٌ وغَارِمٌ وهذا  
طارِدٌ وكذلك جميع المستعلية إذا كانت الرَاءُ مكسورة بعد الألف التي تليها  
وذلك لأن الرَاءَ لما كانت تَقْوَى

It prevailed here, so *nasʿabta* 'you erected' as you did before the *ʔalif* [A]. As for *garr* 'pull with an [i]', you incline the *ʔalif* [A] whether the first letter is *maksuwrūn* 'broken with an [i]', *maftuwḥun* 'opened with an [a]' or *madʿmuwmun* 'closed with a [u]', since it is as though it were two letters *maksuwrān* 'broken-d with an [i]'. You incline here, just as it, the [r], prevailed where *maftuwḥah* 'it was open with an [a]', (L. 5) *fa-nasʿabta*<sup>62</sup> 'so you erected' the *ʔalif* [A], as in your saying *min ḥimāriki* → *min ḥamēriki* 'from your-f. ass', *min ṣawārihi* → *min ṣawērihi* 'from his blindness', *min ʔal-muṣāri* → *min ʔal-muṣēri* 'from the borrowed' and *min ʔal-duwāri* → *min ʔal-duwēri* 'from the dizziness'. It is as though you said *fuṣālilu* → *fuṣēlilu*, *faṣālilu* → *faṣēlilu*, and *fiṣālilu* → *fiṣēlilu*. Of the ones in which the *rāʔ* [r] prevails are your saying *ḡaribun* → *ḡeribun* 'boat', *ḡarimun* → *ḡerimun* 'debtor' and *ḥāḍā ʔʿaridun* → *ḥāḍā ʔʿeridun* 'this (is) an expeller'.<sup>63</sup> The behavior is similar with all *ʔal-mustafliḥah* 'the raised ones' if the *rāʔ* [r] *maksu-wrah* 'is broken with an [i]' after the *ʔalif* [A] that follows it. That is because when *rāʔ* [r] is able to

62 The Buwlaq edition has *fanasʿabat*.

63 This and the following three examples illustrate the effect of [ri] on the *ʔalifs* [A]s that precede it, in which the raised letters blocked *ʔimālah* from taking place. [ri] prevails on the preceding *ʔalifs* [A]s to have *ʔimālah* take place.

على كسر الألف في فَعَالٍ في الجرِّ وفَعَالٍ لما ذكرنا من التضعيف قويّت  
على هذه الألفات إذ كنتَ إنما تَضَعُ لسانك في موضع استعلاء ثم تَنحدر  
وصارت المستعلية (س 10) هاهنا بمنزلتها في قِفَافٍ. وتقول هذه ناقة  
فارقٍ وأثيقٌ مقاريقٌ فتَنصب كما فعلتَ ذلك حيث قلتَ نَاعِقٌ ومُثَاقِقٌ  
ومَنَاشِيطٌ. وقالوا من قرَّركَ فغلبتُ كما غلبت القافُ وأخواتها فلا تكون  
أقوى من القاف لأنها وإن كانت كأنها حرفان مفتوحان فإنما هي حرفٌ  
واحد وبزنته كما أن الألف في عَادٍ والياء في قِيلٍ بمنزلة غيرهما في الردِّ  
إذا صَعُرَتْ رَدَّتَا إلى الواو وإن كان فيهما من اللين ما ليس في غيرهما.  
فإنما شَبَّهتِ الراءُ بالقاف (س 15) وليس في الراء استعلاءً فجُعِلت  
مفتوحة تُفَتِّح نحو المستعلية فلمَّا قويّت على القاف كانت على الراء أقوى.

break the ʔalif [A] in the faṣāl/fiṣāl forms in garr ‘pull with an [i]’ and in the fuṣāl form, as we mentioned, it is due to doubling. It overpowered these ʔalifāt [A]s, since you put your tongue in the raised position then you descend. The *mustaʕliyah* ‘raised ones’ (L. 10) here have assumed their status in *Gifāf* → *Gifēf* ‘round boats’. You say *hāḍihi nāḡatun fāriḡun* ‘this (is) a distinctive she-camel’ and *ʔaynuḡun maḡāriyḡu* ‘(these are) distinctive she-camels’. You erect with an [a] as you did when you said *nāʕiḡun* ‘crier’, *munāʕiḡun* ‘hypocrite’ and *manāʕiyyū* ‘combs’. They said *min Girārika* → *min Girērika* ‘from your decision’. It prevailed, just like the *ḡāf* [G] and its sisters prevailed. It is no stronger than the *ḡāf* [G] because, even though it is as though it is two letters ‘open with an [a],’ it is still one letter and with its measure; just as the ʔalif [A] in *ṣādin* → *ṣēdin* ‘Ad’ and the *yāʔ* [y] in *ḡiylin* ‘a saying’ are in place of others than them in the *radd* ‘return’. If you diminutized, they are changed back into the *wāw* [w], even if there is in them a *liyn* ‘softness’ that is not found in the others. The *rāʔ* [r] is likened to the *ḡāf* [G] (L. 15). There is no raising in *rāʔ* [r]. It has been rendered ‘open with an [a]’ and is opened towards the *mustaʕliyah* ‘raised’. When it prevails over the *ḡāf* [G] it is stronger than the *rāʔ* [r].

واعلم أن الذين يقولون مَسَاجِدُ وَعَابِدٌ يَنْصِبُونَ جميع ما أملت في الراء.  
واعلم أن قوما من العرب يقولون الكَافِرُونَ ورَأَيْتُ الكَافِرِينَ والكَافِرُ وهي  
الْمَنَابِرُ لَمَّا بَعْدَتْ وَصَارَ بَيْنَهَا وَبَيْنَ الْأَلْفِ حَرْفٌ لَمْ تَقْوِ قُوَّةَ الْمُسْتَعْلِيَةِ  
لأنها من موضع اللام وقريبة من الياء. ألا ترى أن الألف يَجْعَلُهَا يَاءً. فَلَمَّا  
كَانَتْ كَذَلِكَ عَمِلَتْ (س 20) الْكُسْرُ عَمَلَهَا إِذْ لَمْ يَكُنْ بَعْدَهَا رَاءٌ. وَأَمَّا قَوْمٌ  
آخَرُونَ فَنَصَبُوا الْأَلْفَ فِي الرِّفْعِ وَالنَّصْبِ وَجَعَلُوهَا بِمَنْزِلَتِهَا إِذْ لَمْ يَحُلْ  
بَيْنَهَا وَبَيْنَ الْأَلْفِ كَسْرٌ وَجَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ لَا يَمْنَعُ النَّصْبُ كَمَا لَمْ يُمْنَعْ فِي الْقَافِ  
وَأَخَوَاتِهَا وَأَمَالُوا فِي الْجَرِّ كَمَا أَمَالُوا حَيْثُ لَمْ يَكُنْ بَيْنَهَا وَبَيْنَ الْأَلْفِ (ص  
291) شَيْءٌ وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ عِنْدَهُمْ أَوَّلَى حَيْثُ كَانَ قَبْلَهَا حَرْفٌ تَمَالَ لَهُ لَوْ لَمْ  
يَكُنْ بَعْدَهُ رَاءٌ. وَأَمَّا بَعْضُ مَنْ يَقُولُ مَرَرْتُ بِالْحِمَارِ

Know that those who say *masāgidu* → *masēgidu* 'mosques' and *ʔābidun* → *ʔēbidun* 'worshiper' erect with an [a] all that you inclined with the *rāʔ* [r].

Know that some Arab people say *ʔal-kāfiruwn* → *ʔal-kēfiruwn* 'infidels', *raʔaytu ʔal-kāfiriyn* → *raʔaytu ʔal-kēfiriyn* 'I saw the infidels', *ʔal-kāfir* → *ʔal-kēfir* 'the infidel' and *hiya ʔal-manābiru* → *hiya ʔal-manēbiru* 'they (are) the pulpits'. When the *rāʔ* [r] is distanced and there is between it and the *ʔalif* [A] a letter, it does not have the power of the 'raised', because it is from the position of *lām*<sup>64</sup> and it is close to the *yāʔ* [y]. Don't you notice that the lisper makes it a *yāʔ* [y]? When that was the case (L. 20) the *kasrah* 'break [i]' did its work, since there was no *rāʔ* [r] after it. Some other people erected the *ʔalif* [A] in the *raff* 'raise' and the *nasʔb* 'erect' and gave it its status, since there does not occur *kasrun* 'a break' between it and the *ʔalif* [A]. They made that no barrier to the *nasʔb* 'erect', as it was not prohibited to the *gāf* [g] and its sisters. They inclined in *garr* 'pull', just as they 'inclined' where there is nothing between it and the *ʔalif* [A]. (P. 291). It was primary with them, where there was a letter before it, to incline due to it, if there was no *rāʔ* [r] after it. There are, however, some who say *marartu bi-l-ḥimāri* →

فإنه يقول مررتُ بالكافر فيَنْصِبُ الألف وذلك لأنك قد تترك الإمامة في  
الرفع والنصب كما تتركها في القاف فلما صارت في هذا كالقاف تتركها  
في الجرّ على حالها حيث كانت تُنصَبُ في الأكثر يعني في النصب  
والرفع وكان من كلامهم (س 5) أن يَنْصِبُوا نحو عَابِدٍ وجُعِلَ الحرف  
الذي قبل الراء يُبْعِدُهُ من أن يمال كما جعله قومٌ حيث قالوا هو كَافِرٌ يُبْعِدُهُ  
من أن يُنصَبَ فلما بَعُدَ وكان النصبُ عندهم أكثر تركوه على حاله إذ كان  
من كلامهم أن يقولوا عَابِدٌ والأصلُ في فاعِلٍ أن تُنصَبَ الألف ولكنها  
تمال لما ذكرتُ لك من العلة. ألا تراها لا تمال في تَابِلٍ. فلما كان ذلك  
الأصلُ تركوها على حالها في الرفع والنصب وهذه اللغة أقلُّ في قول من  
قال عَابِدٌ وعَالِمٌ. واعلم أن الذين (س 10) يقولون هذا قَارِبٌ يقولون  
مررتُ بِقَادِرٍ يَنْصِبُونَ الألف

*marartu bi-l-ḥimēri* 'I passed by the ass' and who also say *marartu bi-l-kāfiri* 'I passed by the infidel': they erect the ʔalif [A]. The reason is that you may forego the inclination in the *nasʿb* 'erect' and the *raʿf* 'raise' the way you forego it with the *gāf* [G]. When it became like the *gāf* [G] in this the speaker left it in its state in *garr* 'pull', where it was erected in most of the cases, that is, in the *nasʿb* 'erect' and the *raʿf* 'raise'. It was part of their speech (L. 5) to erect as with *ṣābid* 'worshiper'. The letter that is before the *rāʔ* [r] caused it be distanced from being inclined, just as some people did when they said *huwa kāfir* → *huwa kēfir* 'he (is) an infidel', and distanced it from being erect with an [a]. Since it was distanced, and the *nasʿb* 'erect' is more frequent among them, they left it in its state, since it is part of their speech to say *ṣābidun* 'worshiper'. The original in the *fāṣil* form is that you erect the ʔalif [A], but it is inclined for the reason that I mentioned to you. Don't you notice that it is not inclined in *tābalin* 'spice'? Since that was the original, they left it in its state, in the *raʿf* 'raise' and in the *nasʿb* 'erect'. This language is less frequent in the speech of those who say *ṣābid* → *ṣēbid* 'worshiper' and *ṣālim* → *ṣēlim* 'scientist'.

Know that those who (L. 10) say *hāḍā ḡaribun* → *hāḍā ḡēribun* 'this (is) a boat' also say *marartu bi-ḡādirin* 'I passed by Qādir': they 'erect' the ʔalif [A],

ولم يجعلوها حيث بُعِدَتْ تَقْوَى كما أنها في لغة الذين قالوا مررتُ بكافِرٍ لم  
تَقْوِ على الإمامة حيث بُعِدَتْ لما ذكرنا من العلة. وقد قال قومٌ تُرتَضَى  
عربيَّتُهم مررتُ بَقَادِرٍ قَبْلُ للرَّاء حيث كانت مكسورة. وذلك أنه يقول  
قَارِبٌ كما يقول جَارِمٌ فَاسْتَوَتْ القافُ وغيرها فلَمَّا قال مررتُ بَقَادِرٍ أراد  
أن يجعلها كقوله مررتُ بِكَافِرٍ فيسويهما هاهنا كما يسويهما هناك. وسمعنا  
من نثق به من العرب يقول لهُدْبَةِ بن خَشْرَم (طويل)

عَسَى الله يُعْغِي عن بلادِ ابن قَادِرٍ      بِمُنْهَمَرٍ جَوْنِ الرَّبَابِ سَكُوبِ

and they do not make it strong when it is distanced, just as it is in the language of those who say *marartu bi-kāfirin* 'I passed by an infidel'. It is not strong enough for inclination when it is distanced, for the reason that we mentioned. Some people whose Arabic is acceptable said *marartu bi-gādirin Gablu* → *marartu bi-gēdirin Gablu* 'I passed by Qadir before', because of the *rā* [r], when it is *maksuwwrah* 'broken with an [i]'. They also say *Gāribun* → *Gēribun* 'boat' and *gārim* → *gērim* 'the harvester of dates'. So the *Gāf* [G] and the others have been equalized. When he said *marartu bi-gādirin* → *marartu bi-gēdirin* 'I passed by Qādir' he wanted to make it like your saying *marartu bi-kāfirin* → *marartu bi-kēfirin* 'I passed by an infidel'. He makes them equal here, just as he makes them equal there. We heard from a person whom we trust from among the Arabs (L. 15), quoting from the poet Hudba bin Khašram (t'awiyl)

*ʕasā ʔal-lāhu yuyniy ʕan bilādi bni Gādirin* → *Gedirin*  
*bi-munhamirin gawni ʔal-rabābi sakuwbin*

Would that God would dispense with a flowing torrent  
of dark clouds on the land of Ibn Qādir



وتقول هو قديرٌ. واعلم أن من يقول مررتُ بكافيرٍ أكثرُ ممَّن يقول مررتُ  
بقايرٍ لأنها من حروف الاستعلاء والراء قد أخبرتك بامرّها واعلم أن من  
العرب من يقول مررتُ بجمارٍ قاسمٍ فينصبون للقاف كما نصبوا حين  
قالوا مررتُ بمالٍ قاسمٍ إلّا أن الإمالة (س20) في الجمارِ وأشباهه أكثرُ  
لأن الألف كأنها بينها وبين القاف حرفان مكسوران فمن ثمّ صارت  
الإمالة فيها أكثر منها في المال. ولكنهم لو قالوا جارمٌ قاسمٍ لم يكن بمنزلة  
جمارٍ قاسمٍ لأن الذي يميل ألف جارمٍ لا يتغير فبين جمارٍ قاسمٍ وجمارمٍ  
قاسمٍ. كما بين مالٍ قاسمٍ وعابِدٍ

You say *huwa Gādirun* 'he (is) Qādir'.

Know that the ones who say *marartu bi-kāfirin* → *marartu bi-kēfirin* 'I passed by an infidel' are more numerous than those who say *marartu bi-Gādirin* → *marartu bi-Gēdirin* 'I passed by Qādir', because there is one of the *ʔistiḥlāʔ* 'raised' letters. As to the case of *rāʔ* [r], I have already mentioned it to you.

Know that some Arabs say *marartu bi-ḥimāri Gāsimin* 'I passed by Qāsim's ass'; they erect with an [a] due to the *Gāf* [G], just as *nasʿabuw* 'they erected with an [a]' when they said *marartu bi-māli Gāsimin* 'I passed by Qāsim's property', except that inclination (L. 20) in *ḥimār* 'ass', and its like, is more frequent because it is as though there are two letters *maksuwrān* 'broken-d. with an [i]' between the *ʔalif* [A] and the *Gāf* [G]. Consequently inclination is more frequent in them than in *ʔal-māl* 'the property'. If, however, they were to say *gārimi Gāsimin* → *gērimi Gāsimin* 'Qāsim's offence', it does not have the status of *ḥimāri Gāsimin* 'Qāsim's ass', because what inclines the *ʔalif* [A] of *gārimin* → *gērimin* 'offence' does not change. So he distinguished between *ḥimāri Gāsimin* 'Qāsim's ass' and *gārimi Gāsimin* → *gērimi Gāsimin* 'Qāsim's offense' in the same way he distinguished between *māli Gāsimin* 'property of Qāsim' and *ṣābidi*

قاسم. ومن قال مررتُ بِجَمَارِ قَاسِمٍ قال مررتُ بِسَفَارٍ قَبْلُ لَأَن الرَاءَ هَاهُنَا (ص 292) يُدْرِكُهَا التَّغْيِيرُ. إِمَّا فِي الإِضَافَةِ وَإِمَّا فِي اسْمِ مَذْكَرٍ هُوَ حَرْفُ الإِعْرَابِ. وَتَقُولُ مَرَرْتُ بِفَارٍّ قَبْلُ فِي لُغَةٍ مِنْ قَالَ مَرَرْتُ بِالْحِمَارِ قَبْلُ وَقَالَ مَرَرْتُ بِكَافِرٍ قَبْلُ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ بَيْنَ الْمَجْرُورِ وَبَيْنَ الْأَلْفِ فِي فَارٍّ إِلَّا حَرْفٌ وَاحِدٌ سَاكِنٌ لَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا مِنْ مَوْضِعِ الْآخِرِ وَإِنَّمَا يَرْفَعُ لِسَانَهُ عَنْهُمَا فَكَأَنَّهُ لَيْسَ بَعْدَ الْأَلْفِ إِلَّا رَاءٌ مَكْسُورَةٌ فَلَمَّا كَانَ مِنْ كَلَامِهِمْ مَرَرْتُ (س 5) بِكَافِرٍ كَانَ اللَّازِمُ لِهَذَا عِنْدَهُمُ الْإِمَالَةُ. وَتَقُولُ هَذِهِ صَعَارِرٌ وَإِذَا اضْطَرَّ الشَّاعِرُ قَالَ الْمَوَارِرُ. وَهَذَا بِمَنْزِلَةِ مَرَرْتُ بِفَارٍّ لِأَنَّهُ إِذَا كَانَ مِنْ كَلَامِهِمْ هِيَ الْمَنَابِرُ

*Gāsimin* → *ʔēbidi Gāsimin* 'servant of Qāsim'. The one who said *marartu bi-ḥimāri Gāsimin* 'I passed by Qāsim's ass' also said *marartu bi-safāri Gablu* 'I passed by Safār before', because *rāʔ* [r] here (P. 292) is subject to change, whether in *ʔidʾāfah* 'annexation', or whether with a masculine name, because it is the letter of *ʔifrāb* 'desinence'. You said *marartu bi-fārrin Gablu* → *marartu bi-fērrin Gablu* 'I passed by a fugitive before' in the language of the one who said *marartu bil-ḥimāri Gablu* → *marartu bil-ḥimēri Gablu* 'I passed by the ass before', and said *marartu bi-kāfirin Gablu* → *marartu bi-kēfirin Gablu* 'I passed by an infidel before', due to the fact that there is only one quiescent letter between the *magruwr* 'pulled' and the *ʔalif* [A] in *fārrin* 'fugitive', which is from nowhere except the position of the other. He thus raises his tongue off them as there is nothing after the *ʔalif* [A] except a *rāʔ* [r] *maksuwraturun* 'broken with [i]'. Since *marartu bi-kāfirin* → *marartu bi-kēfirin* 'I passed by an infidel' is part of their speech, (L. 5) it is necessary for them to incline for this reason. You say *hāḏihi sʾaṣāriru* → *hāḏihi sʾaṣēriru* 'these (are) eaves', and if the poet were compelled, he would say *ʔal-mawāriru* → *al-mawēriru* 'terrains', as this has the status of *marartu bi-fārrin* → *marartu bi-fērrin* 'I passed by the fugitive', because if *hiya ʔal-manābiru* → *hiya ʔal-minēbiru* 'they (are) the pulpits' were part of their

كان اللازم لهذا الإمالة إذ كانت الراء بعد الألف مكسورة. وقال كانت  
قوارير قوارير من فضة ومن قال هذا جاد لم يقل هذا فار لقوة الراء هنا  
كما ذكرنا وتقول هذه ننايير كما قلت كافر فهذا أجدر لأن الراء أبعد. وقد  
قال بعضهم مناشيط فذا أجدر فإذا كنت في (س10) الجر فقصتها قصة  
كافر. واعلم أن الذين يقولون هذا دأغ في السكوت فلا يميلون لأنهم لم  
يلفظوا بالكسرة كسرة العين يقولون مررت بحمار لأن الراء كأنها عندهم  
مضاعفة فكأنه جر راء قبل راء. وذلك قولهم مررت بالحمار وأستجير  
بالله من النار.

speech, this inclination would be required if the *rāʔ* [r] were *maksuwrāh* 'broken with [i]' after the *ʔalif* [A]. He, the Exulted, said *kānat Gawāriyra, Gawāriyra min fidʿ dʿ atin* → *kānat Gawāriyra, Gawāriyra min fidʿ dʿ atin* 'the vessels were vessels of silver' (Sūrah LXXVI: 15–16). The one who said *hāḏā gāddun* → *hāḏā gēddun* 'this (is) serious' does not say *hāḏā fārrun* → *hāḏā fērrun* 'this (is) a fugitive', due to the strength of the *rāʔ* [r] here, as we mentioned. You say *hāḏihi danāniyru* → *hāḏihi danēniyru* 'these (are) dinars', just like you said *kāfirun* → *kēfirun* 'infidel'. This is better, because the *rāʔ* [r] is more distant. Some of them say *manāšiyru* → *manēšiyru* 'combs', which is better. If you were in (L. 10) *garr* 'pull', its story would be the story of *kāfir* → *kēfir* 'infidel'.

Know that those who say *hāḏā dāf* 'this (is) a suppliant' in *sukuwt* 'silence' would not incline, because they did not pronounce the 'break [i]' of the *ʕayn* with the *kasrah* 'break [i]'.<sup>65</sup> They say *marartu bi-ḥimār* → *marartu bi-ḥimēr* 'I passed by an ass', because the *rāʔ* [r] is to them as though doubled, and it is as though *garra* 'he pulled with an [i]' a *rāʔ* [r] before another *rāʔ* [r]. That is in their saying *marartu bi-l-ḥimār* → *marartu bi-l-ḥimēr* 'I passed by the ass' and *ʔastugiyru bi-l-lāhi mina ʔal-nār* → *ʔastugiyru bi-l-lāhi mina ʔal-nēr* 'I seek

65 *ʕayn* is the second radical of the paradigmatic root *ʕl*.

وقالوا في مَهَارَى تميل الهاء وما قبلها. وقال سمعتُ العرب يقولون  
ضربتُ ضَرْبَهُ وأخذتُ/أخذَهُ شَبَه الهاء بالالف فأمال ما قبلها كما يميل ما  
قبل الألف. ومن (س 15) قال أراد أن يضربَهَا قاسِمٌ قال أراد أن  
يضربَهَا رَاشِدٌ. ومن قال بَمَالٍ قاسِمٌ قال بَمَالٍ رَاشِدٌ والراءُ أضعفُ في ذلك  
من القاف لما ذكرتُ لك. وتقول رأيتُ عِفْرًا كما تقول رأيتُ عِلْفًا ورأيتُ  
عَيْرًا كما قلتُ ضيقًا وهذا عِمْرَانٌ كما تقول جَمْعَانٌ. واعلم أن قومًا يقولون  
رأيتُ عِفْرًا فيميلون للكسرة لأن الألف في آخر الحرف فلما كانت الراء  
ليست كالمستعلية وكان

refuge in God from the fire' (Sūrah LXX:15, 16). They say *fiy mahārā* → *fiy mahērā* 'in fleet of camels': you incline the *hāʔ* [h] and what is before it. He<sup>66</sup> said, I heard the Arabs say *ḏʿarabtu ḏʿarbah* → *ḏʿarabtu ḏʿarbe(h)* 'I struck a blow' and *ʔaxaḏtu ʔaxḏah* → *ʔaxaḏtu ʔaxḏe(h)* 'I took a turn'. They likened the *hāʔ* [h] to *ʔalif* [A], so he inclined what is before it, just as he inclines what is before the *ʔalif* [A]. The one who (L. 15) said *ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā Gāsimun* 'he wanted Qāsim to strike her' said *ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā rāšidun* → *ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿrib(ah)ē rāšidun* 'he wanted Rāshid to strike her'. The one who said *bi-māli Gāsimin* 'with Qāsim's property' said *bi-māli rāšidin* → *bi-mēli rāšidin* 'with Rāshid's property'. The *rāʔ* [r] is weaker than the *Gāf* [G] for the reason I mentioned to you. You say *raʔaytu ʔifrā* 'I saw swine', just as you say *raʔaytu ʔilGā* 'I saw a jewel' and *raʔaytu ʔiyrā* 'I saw a caravan', just as you say *raʔaytu ḏʿiyGā* 'I saw straits' and *hāḏā ʔimrānu* 'this (is) Imran', as you say *himGānun* 'insolent'.

Know that some people say *raʔaytu ʔifrā* → *raʔaytu ʔifrē* 'I saw swine': they incline due to the *kasrah* 'break [i]', because the *ʔalif* [A] is at the end of the *ḥarf* 'word'. Since the *rāʔ* [r] was not like the *mustaʔliyah* 'raised' and there was



قبلها كسرة وكانت الألف في آخر الحرف شبهوها بألف حُبلى وكان هذا  
الزَمَ حيث قال (س 20) بعضهم رأيتُ عِرْقًا وقال أراد أن يعْقِرَها وأراد  
أن يعْقِرَ ورأيتُك عَسِيرًا جعلوا هذه الأشياء بمنزلة ما ليس فيه راء. وقالوا *النَّعْرَانُ*  
رأيتُ عَيْرًا فإذا كانت الكسرة تميل فالياء أجدر أن تميل. وقالوا *النَّعْرَانُ*  
حيث كسرت أول الحرف وكانت الألف بعد ما هو من (ص 293) نفس  
الحرف فشبهه بما يُبْنَى على الكلمة نحو أَلِف حُبلى. وقالوا *عِمْرَانُ* ولم  
يقولوا *بِرْقَانُ* جَمْعُ بَرَقَ ولا حِمَقَانُ لأنها من الحروف المستعلية. ومن قال  
هذا *عِمْرَانُ* فأمال قال في رجل يُسَمَّى عِقْرَانُ هذا عِقْرَانُ كما قالوا *حِبَابُ*  
فلم يمنع ما بينهما

a *kasrah* 'break [i]' before it and the *ʔalif* [A] was at the end of the word, they likened it to the *ʔalif* [A] of *hublā* → *hublē* 'pregnant'. This was more required (L. 20) where some of them said *raʔaytu ʕirgā* → *raʔaytu ʕirgē* 'I saw Irqa'. He said *ʔarāda ʔan yaʕGirahā* → *ʔarāda ʔan yaʕGir(ah)ē* 'he wanted to slaughter it', *ʔarāda ʔan yaʕGirā* → *ʔarāda ʔan yaʕGirē* 'he wanted to slaughter it' and *raʔaytuka ʕasirā* → *raʔaytuka ʕasirē* 'I found you desperate'. They gave these things the status of that which does not include a *rāʔ* [r]. They say *raʔaytu ʕayrā* → *raʔaytu ʕayre* 'I saw a wild ass'. If the *kasrah* 'break [i]' inclines, all the more reason then for the *yāʔ* [y] to incline. They said *ʔal-niyrānu* → *ʔal-niyrēnu* 'the boiling' where you 'break' the beginning of the word, and the *ʔalif* [A] is afterwards within (P. 293) the same word. So, it is likened to what is built on the word like the *ʔalif* [A] of *hublā* → *hublē* 'pregnant'. They said *ʕimrān* → *ʕimrēn* 'Imran', but do not say *birgān* → *birgēn* 'lambs', the plural of *baraGin* 'lamb', nor *ʕimGānun* → *ʕimGēnun* 'stupid', because they are of the *mustaʕliyah* 'raised' letters. Whoever said *hāḏā ʕimrān* → *hāḏā ʕimrēn* 'this (is) Imran', he inclined. He said of man named *ʕigrān*, *hāḏā ʕigrān* → *hāḏā ʕigrēn* 'this (is) Iqrān'. Similarly, they said *gilbābun* → *gilbēbun* 'garment', for what is between them does not block

الإمالة كما لم يمنع الصاد في صَمَالِيْق. وقالوا ذا فِرَاشٍ وهذا حِرَابٌ لَمَّا  
كانت الكسرة أوْلاً والألف زائدة (س 5) شُبِّهَتْ بِبُغْرَانٍ. والنصب فيه كله  
أحسنُ لأنها ليست كالألف حُبْلَى.

inclination, just as the *sʿād* [sʿ] is not blocked in *sʿamāliḡa* → *sʿamēliḡa* ‘deserts’. They said *ōā firāšun* → *ōā firēšun* ‘this (is) a bed’ and *hāōā girābun* → *hāōā girēbun* ‘this (is) a bag’. When the *kasrah* ‘break [i]’ was first and the *ʔalif* [A] was extra, (L. 5) it was likened to *niyrān* → *niyrēn* ‘boiling’. The *nasʿb* ‘erect with [a]’ in all these is better, because they are not like the *ʔalif* [A] of *ḡublā* → *ḡublē* ‘pregnant’.

## Chapter Six (482)

482. هذا باب ما يمال من الحروف التي ليس بعدها ألف إذا كانت  
الراء بعدها مكسورة

(م 2 ص 293 س 6) وذلك قولك من الضرر ومن البحر ومن الكبر  
ومن الصغر ومن الفقر لما كانت الراء كأنها حرفان مكسوران وكانت  
تشبه الياء أمالوا المفتوح كما أمالوا الألف لأن الفتحة من الألف وشبهه  
الفتحة بالكسرة كشبه الألف بالياء فصارت الحروف هاهنا (س 10)  
بمنزلتها إذ كانت قبل الألف وبعد الألف الراء وإن كان الذي قبل الألف  
من المستعلية نحو

## Chapter Six (482)

This is a Chapter on the Letters That are Inclined That Do  
Not Have the *ʔalif* [A] After Them, If the *rāʔ* [r] After Them  
is 'Broken With an [i]'

(Buwlāq vol. 2, pp. 270–1; Derenbourg vol. 2, pp. 293–4;  
Hāruwn vol. 4, pp. 142–4)

(II, P. 270, L. 6) Examples are in your saying *mina ʔal-dʿarari* → *mina ʔal-dʿareri* 'from harm', *mina ʔal-baʕari* → *mina ʔal-baʕeri* 'from dung', *mina ʔal-kibari* → *mina ʔal-kiberi* 'from greatness', *mina ʔal-sʿiyari* → *mina ʔal-sʿiyeri* 'from smallness' and *mina ʔal-fuḡari* → *mina ʔal-fuḡeri* 'from poverty'. When the *rāʔ* [r] was as though it were two *maksuwrān* 'broken with an [i]' letters, and as though similar to the *yāʔ* [y], they inclined the *maftuwh* 'open with an [a]', just like they inclined the *ʔalif* [A], because the *fathah* 'open [a]' is from the *ʔalif* [A]. Likening the *fathah* 'open [a]' to the *kasrah* 'break [i]' is similar to likening the *ʔalif* [A] to the *yāʔ* [y]. The letters here (L. 10) would have the same status if they were before the *ʔalif* [A] and there is the *rāʔ* [r] after the *ʔalif* [A], even if that which was before the *ʔalif* [A] was one of the *mustaʕliyah* 'raised' ones, like

ضاربٍ وقاربٍ. وتقول من عمرو فتميل العين لأن الميم ساكنة. وتقول من المخائر فتميل الذال ولا تقوى على إمالة الألف لأن بعد الألف فتحاً وقبلها فصارت الإمالة لا تعمل بالألف شيئاً كما أنك تقول حاضراً فلا تميل لأنها من الحروف المستعلية. فكما لم تمل الألف للكسرة كذلك لم تملها إمالة الذال. وتقول هذا ابن مدعور كأنك (س 15) تروم الكسرة لأن الراء كأنها حرفان مكسوران فلا تميل الواو لأنها لا تشبه الياء ولو أملت أملت ما قبلها ولكنك تروم الكسرة كما تقول رُدّ. ومثل هذا قولهم عَجِبْتُ مِنَ السَّمَرِ وَشَرِبْتُ مِنَ الْمُتَقَرِّ

*d'ārib* → *d'ērib* 'hitter' and *Gārib* → *Gērib* 'boat'. You say *min samri* → *min semri* 'from Amr': you incline the *ṣayn* [ʃ] because the *miym* [m] is *sākinah* 'quiescent'. You say *mina ʔal-muḥāḍari* → *mina ʔal-muḥāḍeri* 'from the warner': you incline the *ḍāl* [ḍ] and you are not able to incline the *ʔalif* [A], because there is *fathah* 'an open [a]' after and before the *ʔalif* [A]. Hence the inclination does nothing to the *ʔalif* [A]. This is just as in your saying *ḥād'irun* 'attendant', which you do not incline because it is of the 'raised' letters. Just as you do not incline the *ʔalif* [A] because of the 'break [i]', so you do not incline it because of the inclination of the *ḍāl* [ḍ]. You say *ḥāḍā ʔibnu maḍṣuwrin* → *ḥāḍā ʔibnu maḍṣuwerin* 'this (is) the son of Mathṣur' as though (L. 15) you *taruwmu* 'aim for' the *kasrah* 'break [i]', because the *rāʔ* [r] is like *maksuwrān* 'two broken with an [i]' letters. You don't incline the *wāw* [w] because it is not like the *yāʔ* [y]. If you were to incline it, you would incline what is before it, but you aim for the *kasrah* 'break [i]' as you say *rudda* → *ridda* 'returned'. Examples of these are their saying *ṣagabtu mina ʔal-samuri* → *ṣagabtu mina ʔal-samūri* → *ṣagabtu mina ʔal-sameri* 'I liked the entertainment', *ṣaribtu mina ʔal-munḡuri* → *ṣaribtu mina ʔal-munḡūri* → *ṣaribtu mina ʔal-munḡeri* 'I drank from the hollow-out'. They said *raʔaytu xabaʔa*



الْمُنْفَرُ الرِّكْبَةُ الْكَثِيرَةُ الْمَاءِ. وَقَالُوا رَأَيْتُ خَبَطَ الرِّيفِ كَمَا قَالُوا مِنَ الْمَطَرِ  
 وَقَالُوا رَأَيْتُ خَبَطَ فِرْنِدٍ كَمَا قَالَ مِنَ الْكَافِرِينَ. وَيَقَالُ هَذَا خَبَطَ رِيَا ح كَمَا  
 قَالَ مِنَ الْمُنْفَرِ وَقَالَ مَرَرْتُ بِعَيْنٍ وَمَرَرْتُ بِخَيْرٍ فَلَمْ يُشْمَمِ لِأَنَّهَا تَخْفَى مَعَ  
 الْيَاءِ (س 20) كَمَا أَنَّ الْكُسْرَةَ فِي الْيَاءِ أَخْفَى. وَكَذَلِكَ مَرَرْتُ بِبَعِيرٍ لِأَنَّ  
 الْعَيْنَ مَكْسُورَةً وَلَكِنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ (ص 294) هَذَا ابْنُ ثَوْرٍ. وَتَقُولُ هَذَا قَفَا  
 رِيَا ح كَمَا تَقُولُ رَأَيْتُ خَبَطَ رِيَا ح فَتَمِيلُ طَاءَ خَبَطَ لِلرَّاءِ الْمَنْفَصَلَةِ وَكَذَلِكَ  
 أَلْفُ قَفَا فِي هَذَا الْقَوْلِ. وَأَمَّا مَنْ قَالَ

*ʔal-riyfi* → *raʔaytu xabaʔe ʔal-riyfi* 'I saw the leaves of the country', just as he said *mina ʔal-maʔari* → *mina ʔal-maʔari* 'from the rain'. They said *raʔaytu xabaʔa firindin* → *raʔaytu xabaʔe firindin* 'I saw the swirls of a garment', just as he said *mina ʔal-kāfirina* → *mina ʔal-kēfirina* 'of the atheists'. They said *hāḏā xabaʔu riyāhin* → *hāḏā xabaʔe riyāhin* 'this (is) a swirl of wind', just as he said *mina ʔal-munḡari* → *mina ʔal-munḡuri* → *mina ʔal-munḡeri* 'of the hollow-out'. He said *marartu bi-ṣayrin* → *marartu bi-seyrin* 'I passed by a wild ass' and *marartu bi-xayrin* → *marartu bi-xeyrin* 'I passed in peace'. He did it without *ʔiṣmām* 'rounding' because they are concealed with the *yāʔ* [y] (L. 20) just as the 'break [i]' in the *yāʔ* [y] is more concealed. Similar to it is *marartu bi-baṣiyrin* 'I passed by a he-camel', because the *ṣayn* [ʃ] is *maksūrah* 'broken with an [i]', but they say (P. 294) *hāḏā ʔibnu ḡawrin* → *hāḏā ʔibnu ḡewrin* 'this (is) the offspring of a bull'. You say *hāḏā Gaṣā riyāhin* → *hāḏā Gaṣe riyāhin* 'this (is) counter to winds', just as you say *raʔaytu xabaʔa riyāhin* → *raʔaytu xabaʔe riyāhin* 'I saw swirls of winds'. You incline the *ʔāʔ* [ʔ] of *xabaʔin* due to the *munfaṣʔilah* 'unconnected' *rāʔ* [r] with a 'break [i]'. The behavior is similar with the *ʔalif* [A] of *Gaṣān* 'back' in this saying. As to the one who said

مررتُ بيمالٍ قاسِمٍ فلم يَنْصِبْ لأنها منفصلة قال رأيتُ خَبَطَ رِيَّاحٍ وَقَفَا  
رياح سمعنا جميع ما ذكرنا لك من الإمالة والنصب في هذه الأبواب من  
العرب. ومن قال مَنْ عَمُرُو وَمِنْ النَّعْرِ فَأَمَالَ لَمْ (س 5) يُمِلْ مِنْ الشَّرْقِ  
لأن بعد الراء حرفاً مستعلياً فلا يكون ذا كما لم يكن هذا مَارَقٌ.

*marartu bi-māli Gāsimin* → *marartu bi-mēli Gāsimin* 'I passed by Qāsim's property'. He does not 'erect' because it is 'unconnected.' He said *raʔaytu xabaʔa riyāhin* 'I saw swirls of winds', and *Gafā riyāhin* 'counter to winds'. He did not incline. All that we have mentioned to you in these chapters about *ʔimālah* 'inclination' and being *nasʔb* 'erect' we heard from the Arabs. The one who said *min ʕamri* → *min ʕemri* 'from Amr', *min ʔal-nuyari* → *min ʔal nuyeri* 'from the red-beaked sparrows', he inclined. He does not (L. 5) incline *mina ʔal-ʕariGi* 'from spittle' because after the *rāʔ* [r] there is a 'raised' letter, so that cannot be, just as *hāḏā māriGun* → *hāḏā mēriGun* 'this (is) an apostate' cannot be.

## ANALYSIS

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## 7: Analysis of Chapter One (477)

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This is a Chapter Where the *ʔalifāt*<sup>67</sup> [A]s *tumālu* ‘are Inclined’

**7.0** The chapters dealing with *ʔimālah* ‘inclination’ comprise a small section of *ʔal-Kitāb* ‘the book’ of Sībawayh. They include chapters 477–82 in Derenbourg’s enumeration (1885), that is, six chapters out of a massive book that is 571 chapters long. The value of this special phonetic topic is that it is a coherent treatment of a prevalent phenomenon in classical Arabic. *ʔimālah* was operative across dialectal boundaries in a variety of guises that may have baffled many analysts. What Sībawayh accomplished was to produce an overview of the inventory of observed changes of the inclined *ʔalifāt* [A]s, [ā]s becoming [ē]s, for the most part, stating the conditions under which *ʔimālah* took place. He showed it to be a regular, if an optional, process. He showed that, as a process, *ʔimālah* was far from haphazard; it occurred in certain contexts and was alternatively set off or prevented by specific triggers or blocks. What also fascinates an observer is that different dialects took advantage of this process in different ways; some applied it to certain classes of words, while others did not. But no matter what the predilection of the users might have been, within or across dialectal boundaries, the controlling contextual triggers did not vary or shift from dialect to dialect but remained constant. Irrespective of the dialect, if *ʔimālah* were to take place it would take place in the same contexts. The only option that speakers of this or that dialect had was whether or not to apply the rules of *ʔimālah*.

In the process of *ʔimālah*, certain *ʔalifāt*[A]s were not pronounced as [ā], but, as the term indicates, they were inclined towards the *yāʔ* [y], pronounced somewhere between an [ā] and an [ī], which is a position approximating to that of an [ē]. By way of an example, [kitāb] ‘book’ was pronounced [kitēb], and so on with all the other cases in which the stated conditions were present.

67 Arabic transcriptions are in italics.

A process comparable to *ʔimālah* occurs in many languages, for example in German, and is usually referred to as ‘umlauting’. The advantage of keeping the translation closer to the original Arabic is that it is more faithful to the concept, and secondly, *ʔimālah* is not limited to the fronting of the [ā] to [ē], but can just as easily apply to the backing of [ā] towards [ɔ] as was done in the dialect of *higāz* in words like *sʿalāt* → *sʿalɔt* ‘prayer’, *zakāt* → *zakɔt* ‘alms giving’ and *ḥayāt* → *ḥayɔt* ‘life’ (II, P. 452, L. 12). This latter process is often called *tafxiym* ‘emphasis’, and is not dwelled on in these chapters.

There is a parallelism between *ḥuruwf* ‘letters’ that are called *sawākin* ‘quiescent’ and the *ḥarakāt* ‘motions’. The *ḥuruwf* ‘letters’ *ʔalif* [A], *yāʔ* [y] and *wāw* [w] are longer versions of the *ḥarakāt* ‘motions’ [a], [i] and [u]. They correspond, in the Western tradition, in certain contexts, to long and short vowels. The *ḥuruwf* ‘letters’ are subject to being set in motion by the *ḥarakāt* ‘motions’, like the *kāf* [k] in *kataba* ‘he wrote’, *kitāb* ‘book’ and *kutub* ‘books’, and the *wāw* [w] in *walad* ‘boy’, *wilādah* ‘birth’, *wulida* ‘he was born’ are all set in motion, but the *ḥarakāt* ‘motions’ cannot themselves be set in motion. We are keeping the *ḥuruwf* ‘letters’ and the *ḥarakāt* ‘motions’ distinct here for clarity and consistency’s sake.

In selecting the proper terms in the translation, an attempt has been made to be ‘faithful’ to the original as much as one could without sacrificing accuracy. Sībawayh’s book makes new demands on the translator. It is by all accounts the first full analysis of Arabic that we know of. What is more, it does not conform to our Indo-European paradigm of analysis, which looks at language from a certain vantage point. In English, for example, we make use of the traditional Greek, Latin and Sanskrit paradigms, which include inherited terminology such as ‘vowel,’ ‘consonant,’ ‘phoneme,’ ‘morpheme’ and ‘sandhi’ among many others. Sībawayh and those that followed him did not have this prepackaged wealth of linguistic lore available to them. They created their own paradigm and selected their own terminology from their own language. That poses a problem for the translator who must decide whether to pour this Arabic material into an Indo-European mold or to follow the insights of the natives who created it. The easiest route would have been to follow one of the established Western paradigms and make it as harmonious with our inherited historical paradigm as possible. That route has already been taken by Jahn (1894) in his German translation – the only translation of the whole book. One is in awe of this massive

production and one has nothing but admiration for its author. He did a thorough job of translating the text, though not all the examples or all the poetry are translated, besides he included a rich selection of comments from Arab commentators on the text. It is a treasury of quotes. He also transcribes the ‘inclined’ [ā] as an [ē].

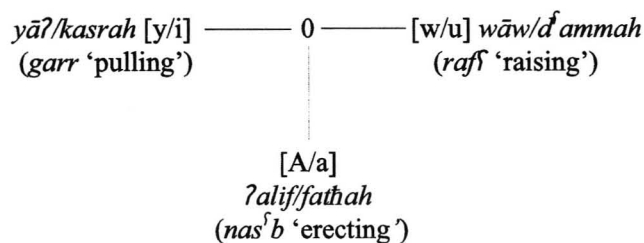
Or, alternately, one might venture into the new Arabic paradigm and communicate to the reader its form, its conceptual framework and its originality. In the present study, this second route was taken. This puts cross-cultural demands on the translator and imposes constraints: all that is new in this new paradigm and the terms that are used must be made available and shared with the reader. Here, the rich translation format is used in order to achieve this, hence the plethora of Arabic terms within the translation. The aim was to make not only the translation but also the terminology accessible to the reader who may not have expertise in the language. It is hoped that this makes Sībawayh’s system accessible in its original form.

Whether it is precisely the sound [ē] or something slightly different is a legitimate concern. The text only says that the *ʔalif* [ā] is ‘inclined’ towards the *yāʔ* [y] and approximated to the sound [i] of the context (II, P. 279, L. 13). This statement of Sībawayh, and many others, were taken as indicative of his intention that the [ā] is moving towards the [i] position, and within a three-vowel system, [ē] is intermediate between the two. *ʔimālah*, and not some other term, was used, and this interpretation sounds reasonable, though there is no absolute certainty how close it is to [i]. The motion of [ā] becoming an [ē] in modern dialects is pervasive. A good example would be Lebanese Arabic, but that is only suggestive and not a guarantee of its truth.

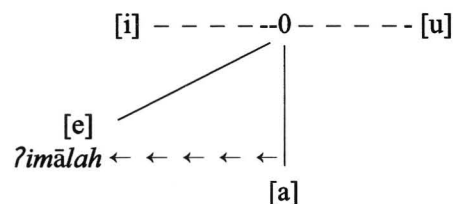
Umlauting comes to mind as a choice but what ‘inclines’ in Sībawayh is very specifically determined by context. Not all [ā]s incline. It is clear that those [ā]s that are in the context of raised letters (Ch. 480), the back [ā]s, for example, do not incline. This is not similar to the German. Basically only the non-back, low vowels are raised towards [ē], so this is a much more phonetically defined process. One feels compelled to follow the thinking of the author and to be thoughtful of the tradition to show its originality and newness by being more faithful to its formulation by Sībawayh.

The term ‘inclination’ was chosen for *ʔimālah* for simple reasons. As mentioned above, the translation attempts to be faithful to the text and the term ‘inclination,’ though new to the technical linguistic vocabulary, is the term Sībawayh selected – and he is a very careful

writer –is harmonious with what he proposed, is faithful to his concept and is descriptive of the process under discussion. It is also the selection of Troupeau (1976: 198) where he gives: ‘inflexir, inflexion.’ The selection of ‘inclination’ dictated rethinking the structure of the vowel triangle to make it a better fit of the new conception by re-imagining the relationship of the three vowels not in a rigid triangular representation but in a more flexible T-formation to accommodate the shifting of an [ā] towards an [ē] by the process of ʔimālah ‘inclination’. This allows one to change one segment/sound in relation to the others without disturbing the positions of the unaffected others. The three *ḥuruwf liyn* and *madd/ḥarakāt* ‘letters of softness and length/motions’ of Arabic are represented by a **T-formation** thus:



This **tri-partite** system adjusts accordingly when one of its components shifts its regular position to accommodate the process of ʔimālah. Thus:



In general, Sībawayh discusses phonetic changes by dividing the sound system of Arabic into two main subclasses. For the class of ʔal-ḥuruwf ʔal-sākinah ‘the still/quiescent letters’, their detailed descriptions and the changes in their articulations are discussed in the section on ʔidyām ‘assimilation’, which comprises the last part of Sībawayh’s book, that is, chapters 565–71. On the other hand, some of the changes that affect ʔal-ḥuruwf ʔal-layyinah ‘the soft letters’ and the ḥarakāt ‘motions’, which may be varied, such as in ʔimālah ‘inclination’, are discussed

in these chapters, which is to say chapters 477–82. The latter chapters provide the contexts in which ʔimālah takes place. In the present chapter the general contexts for ʔimālah and refraining from ʔimālah will be isolated, and the relevant exemplification will be given with references to the text. These comments will attempt, as much as possible, to keep close to the original terminology and phrasing, and to use the technical vocabulary developed by the school of Basrah. This chapter sets the template that will be followed in the subsequent chapters, *ceteris paribus*, in determining the triggers for ʔimālah ‘inclination’. In general, the trigger is the presence of a *kasrah* [i] either before or after an ʔalif [A], and by extension the presence of a *yāʔ* [y] in the same contexts.

**7.1** The ʔalif [A] is inclined if it is followed by a letter set in motion with a *kasrah* [i] (II, P. 279, L. 10). For example:

|           |   |           |                                 |
|-----------|---|-----------|---------------------------------|
| ʔābid     | → | ʔēbid     | ‘worshiper’ (II, P. 279, L. 11) |
| ʔālim     | → | ʔēlim     | ‘scientist’ (II, P. 279, L. 11) |
| masāgid   | → | masēgid   | ‘mosques’ (II, P. 279, L. 11)   |
| maʔātiyh  | → | maʔētiyh  | ‘keys’ (II, P. 279, L. 11)      |
| ʔuḏāfirun | → | ʔuḏēfirun | ‘coarse’ (II, P. 279, L. 11)    |
| hābiylu   | → | hēbiylu   | ‘Abel’ (II, P. 279, L. 11)      |

**7.2** The ʔalif [A] is inclined if the first/preceding letter of the word is set in motion with a *kasrah* [i]. (II, P. 279, L. 116–17).<sup>68</sup> For example:

|         |   |         |                             |
|---------|---|---------|-----------------------------|
| ʔimādun | → | ʔimēdun | ‘ʔimad’ (II, P. 279, L. 17) |
| kilābun | → | kilēbun | ‘dogs’ (II, P. 279, L. 21)  |

**7.3** The ʔalif [A] is inclined if there are two letters between the ʔalif [A] and the *kasrah* [i], but the first letter is *sākin* ‘quiescent’ since the quiescent is not a strong barrier to inclination. (Ch. 477. P. 279, L. 18).<sup>69</sup> For example:

|          |   |          |                                 |
|----------|---|----------|---------------------------------|
| sirbālun | → | sirbēlun | ‘shirt’ (II, P. 279, L. 21)     |
| šimlālun | → | šimlēlun | ‘agile’ (II, P. 279, L. 21)     |
| ʔiswidād | → | ʔiswidēd | ‘blackness’ (II, P. 279, L. 21) |

<sup>68</sup> Rules 1 & 2 are not used by the speakers from higāz (II, P. 280, L. 21).

<sup>69</sup> ‘Quiescent’ means that it is not *mutaḥarrik* ‘set in motion’ by one of the three motions, that is, [a], [i] or [u].

7.4 The ʔalif[A] is not inclined if after the ʔalif[A] there is a letter set in motion with an [a] or an [u] (II, P. 280, L. 1). For example:

|                 |                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>ʔāgurrin</i> | ‘rewarder’ (II, P. 280, L. 2)    |
| <i>xātamin</i>  | ‘finger ring’ (II, P. 280, L. 2) |
| <i>tābalin</i>  | ‘spice’ (II, P. 280, L. 2)       |

7.5 The ʔalif[A] is not inclined if before the ʔalif[A] there is a letter that is *maftuwḥ* ‘open with an [a]’ or *maḍ muwm* ‘closed with a [u]’ (II, P. 280, L. 4). For example:

|                   |                                    |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>rabābin</i>    | ‘fiddle’ (II, P. 280, L. 4)        |
| <i>gamādin</i>    | ‘inanimate’ (II, P. 280, L. 4)     |
| <i>ʔal-balbāl</i> | ‘the confusion’ (II, P. 280, L. 4) |
| <i>ʔal-gummāf</i> | ‘the totality’ (II, P. 280, L. 4)  |
| <i>ʔal-xuṭṭāf</i> | ‘the swallows’ (II, P. 280, L. 5)  |

7.6 The *wāw* [w] is changed into a *yāʔ* [y] in structures with more than three letters, if *wāw* [w] is the *lām* [l].<sup>70</sup> One may consider this a complete inclination where the first letter becomes like the second. [w] → [y] (II, P. 280, L. 10–11). For example:

|                    |        |                                   |
|--------------------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>maḍdiyyun</i>   | (ḍdw)  | ‘running’ (II, P. 280, L. 10–13)  |
| <i>masniyyun</i>   | (snw)  | ‘watering’ (II, P. 280, L. 10–13) |
| <i>ʔal-Gunniyy</i> | (Gnw)  | ‘canals’ (II, P. 280, L. 10–13)   |
| <i>ʔal-ḥisṣiyy</i> | (ḥsṣw) | ‘sticks’ (II, P. 280, L. 10–13)   |

7.7 The ʔalif[A] is not inclined in three letter structures with a *wāw* [w] in order to distinguish them from the structures with a *yāʔ* [y] (II, P. 280, L. 10–14). For example:

|                 |        |                                         |
|-----------------|--------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>Gafā</i> (n) | (Gfw)  | ‘back’ (II, P. 280, L. 15)              |
| <i>ḥasā</i> (n) | (ḥsṣw) | ‘stick’ (II, P. 280, L. 15)             |
| <i>ʔal-Ganā</i> | (Gnw)  | ‘the aquiline nose’ (II, P. 280, L. 15) |
| <i>ʔal-Gaṭā</i> | (Gṭw)  | ‘the sand grouse’ (II, P. 280, L. 15)   |

7.8 The final ʔalif[A] is inclined in similar forms when the *lām* [l] is not a *wāw* [w] but a *yāʔ* [y] (II, P. 280, L. 16). For example:

70 *lām* [l] is the third radical of the paradigmatic root [fʕl].

|             |       |   |             |                                                         |
|-------------|-------|---|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kibā</i> | (kbw) | → | <i>kibē</i> | ‘horse’ (II, P. 280, L. 17)                             |
| <i>ḥasā</i> | (ḥṣw) | → | <i>ḥasē</i> | ‘dimness of sight’ (II, P. 280, L. 17)                  |
| <i>makā</i> | (mkw) | → | <i>makē</i> | ‘burrow for a lizard’ (II, P. 280, L. 17) <sup>71</sup> |

7.9 The final ʔalif[A] is inclined in *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’ whose final element is *ʔalifzāʕidah* ‘an extra ʔalif[A]’ which is for the feminine or something else (II, P. 281, L. 5). For example:

|              |   |              |                                             |
|--------------|---|--------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>miṣzā</i> | → | <i>miṣzē</i> | ‘goat’ (II, P. 281, L. 6)                   |
| <i>ḥublā</i> | → | <i>ḥublē</i> | ‘pregnant’ (II, P. 281, L. 6) <sup>72</sup> |

7.10 ‘The ʔalif[A] is inclined where a *yāʔ* [y] or a *wāw* [w] is in the *ḥayn* [ʕ] position,<sup>73</sup> on the pattern of *faṣaltu*.’ For these actions there is an [i] that sets the first segment in motion. That is, there is inclination in medially weak forms with either a [w] or a [y]. (II, P. 281, L. 10). For example:

|             |       |   |             |                                               |
|-------------|-------|---|-------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| <i>xāfa</i> | (xwf) | → | <i>xēfa</i> | ‘he feared’ (II, P. 281, L. 13)               |
| <i>māta</i> | (mwt) | → | <i>mēta</i> | ‘he died’ (II, P. 281, L. 10)                 |
| <i>ʔāba</i> | (ʔyb) | → | <i>ʔēba</i> | ‘he enjoyed’ (II, P. 281, L. 13)              |
| <i>ḥāba</i> | (hyb) | → | <i>ḥēba</i> | ‘he revered’ (II, P. 281, L. 13)              |
| <i>sāra</i> | (sʕr) | → | <i>sēra</i> | ‘he became’ (II, P. 281, L. 14)               |
| <i>xāba</i> | (xyb) | → | <i>xēba</i> | ‘he failed’ (II, P. 281, L. 19) <sup>74</sup> |

7.11 The ʔalif[A] is not inclined where a *wāw* [w] is in the *ḥayn* [ʕ] position,<sup>75</sup> on the pattern of *faṣaltu*. For these actions there is a [u] setting the first segment in motion, that is, in medially weak forms with a [w]. This is in contrast to *xāfa* / *xiftu* ‘he feared / I feared’. Thus:

| 1st sing    | 2nd sing                                               |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Gāmā</i> | <i>Gumtu</i> ‘he got up, I got up’ (II, P. 281, L. 18) |
| <i>dārā</i> | <i>durtu</i> ‘he turned, I turned’ (II, P. 281, L. 18) |

71 The people of Baniy Tamiym do not incline these (II, P. 281, L. 4–5).

72 ‘Many people do not incline these and say’:

|              |                               |
|--------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>ḥublā</i> | ‘pregnant’ (II, P. 281, L. 9) |
| <i>miṣzā</i> | ‘goat’ (II, P. 281, L. 10)    |

73 *ḥayn* [ʕ] is the second radical of the paradigmatic root [fʕl].

74 The examples have the *faṣltu* forms: *xiftu*, *mittu*, *ʔibtu*, *hibtu*, *sʕirtu* and *xibtu*, respectively, as opposed to forms like: *Gāma* ‘he rose’ *Gumtu* ‘I rose’ and *sāGa* ‘he drove’, *suGtu* ‘I drove’.

75 *ḥayn* is the second radical of the paradigmatic root [fʕl].



7.12 The *ʔalif* [A] is inclined when there is a *yāʔ* [y] before it, which is similar to when it has a *kasrah* [i] before it (II, P. 281, L. 20). For example:

*kayyāl* → *kayyēl* ‘thorny tree’ (II, P. 281, L. 20)  
*bayyāf* → *bayyēf* ‘vendor’ (II, P. 281, L. 20)<sup>76</sup>

Those who do not incline these do not incline the following either (II, P. 282, L. 3):

*ʔal-sayāl* → *ʔal-sayēl* ‘the brook’ (II, P. 282, L. 1)  
*ʔal-dʿayāh* → *ʔal-dʿayēh* ‘the skimmed milk’ (II, P. 282, L. 1)  
*šaybān* → *šaybēn* ‘Shaybān’ (II, P. 282, L. 2)  
*ʔaylān* → *ʔaylēn* ‘Aylān’ (II, P. 282, L. 2)  
*ʔaylān* → *ʔaylēn* ‘Ghaylān’ (II, P. 282, L. 2)  
*zaydā* → *zaydē* ‘Zayd-d.’ (II, P. 282, L. 6)

They also do not incline the following since they don’t contain a *yāʔ* [y]:

*ʔabdā* ‘servant’ (II, P. 282, L. 7)  
*kaslān* ‘lazy’ (II, P. 282, L. 8)

7.13 The *ʔalif* [A] is inclined in *garr* ‘pull’,<sup>77</sup> that is, ‘prepositional phrases’, where it is preceded by a *kasrah* [i] on the pattern of the *fāʔil* form, as in:

*kātib* → *kētib* ‘writer’ (II, P. 282, L. 4)  
*sāgid* → *sēgid* ‘worshiper’ (II, P. 282, L. 4)  
*marartu bi-bābihi* → *marartu bi-bēbihi* ‘I passed by his door’  
 (II, P. 282, L. 3)  
*ʔaxaōtu min mālihi* → *ʔaxaōtu min mēlihi* ‘I took of his wealth’  
 (II, P. 282, L. 3)  
*marartu bi-ʔal-māli* → *marartu bi-ʔal-mēli* ‘I passed by the property’  
 (II, P. 282, L. 11)  
*min ʔahli ʔādīn* → *min ʔahli ʔēdīn* ‘for the people of ʔād’  
 (II, P. 282, L. 5)

<sup>76</sup> ‘Many people of higāz do no incline these *ʔalifāt* [A]s’. (II, P. 282, L. 1).

<sup>77</sup> *gār* and *magruwr* create an environment for *ʔimālah* to take effect by marking the *magruwr* with an [i].

*fiy ʔal-gādayn* → *fiy ʔal-gēdayn* ‘in your sword-belts-d.’  
 (II, P. 282, L. 9)  
*marartu bi-ʔaglānika* → *marartu bi-ʔaglēnika* ‘I passed by your bows-d.’ (II, P. 282, L. 10)  
*marartu bi-mālin* → *marartu bi-mēlin kaθiyrin*  
*kaθiyrin* ‘I passed by great wealth’ (II, P. 282, L. 11)

This is just like their saying:

*māšin* → *mēšin* ‘walker’ (II, P. 282, L. 11)  
*dāʔin* → *dēʔin* ‘caller’ (II, P. 282, L. 10)

7.14 The *ʔalif* [A] is inclined when the *kasrah* [i] is considered like a *yāʔ* [y] (II, P. 282, L. 5) as in the following:

*dirhamān* → *dirhamēn* ‘two dirhams’ (II, P. 282, L. 8)  
*raʔaytu ʔizhā* → *raʔaytu ʔizhē* ‘I saw Qizah’ (II, P. 282, L. 8)  
*raʔaytu ʔilmā* → *raʔaytu ʔilmē* ‘I saw knowledge’  
 (II, P. 282, L. 9)

7.15 ‘The *ʔalif* [A] is inclined following another inclination. The second *ʔalif* [A] is inclined due to the inclination of the first *ʔalif* [A]’ (II, P. 282, L. 14), as in:

*ʔimādā* → *ʔimēdā* → *ʔimēdē* ‘Imad-d.’ (II, P. 282, L. 14)  
*raʔaytu ʔimādā* → *raʔaytu ʔimēdē* ‘I saw Imad-d’  
 (II, P. 282, L. 14)  
*raʔaytu miyzānā* → *raʔaytu miyzēnē* ‘I saw the scales’  
 (II, P. 282, L. 14)



## 8: Analysis of Chapter Two (478)

This is a Chapter on the *ʔimālah* 'Inclination' of *ʔalif* [A]:

A Great Number of Arabs Incline It.

**8.0** In this chapter, Sībawayh pauses to make a statement about the state of *ʔimālah* 'inclination' among the speakers. He makes the point that there is variation, when he says:

Know that not everyone who inclines the *ʔalifāt* [A]s agrees with the other Arabs who incline. Rather, each member of the group may differ from his colleague so that someone *yansʿub* 'erects' what his colleague *yumiylu* 'inclines', and *yumiylu* 'inclines' some others that his colleague *yansʿub* 'erects'. Similarly, whoever, in whose dialect the *nasʿb* 'erection' plays a part may not agree with the others who erect. Rather, his case and the case of his colleague are the same case as that of the first two with respect to the *kasr* 'break [i]'. If you were to see an Arab of that persuasion do not fault him as though he mixed his dialect, rather, this is their style. (II, P. 283, L. 1–6)

This chapter continues to indicate the contexts where *ʔimālah* 'inclination' takes place, using the same triggers as in the previous chapter but in more refined contexts and with more expected variations. There is an extended discussion of the feminine marker, the *hāʔ* [h] and its potential and actual hiddenness in pronunciation. The hiddenness of the *hāʔ* [h] creates shorter sequences and consequently more immediate contexts for *ʔimālah* 'inclination' when there is a *kasrah* [i] before the *ʔalif* [A]. The rest of this chapter lists the relevant rules as given by Sībawayh.

**8.1** The feminine marker *hāʔ* [h] can be hidden, that is unpronounced, in which case the final *ʔalif* [A] is inclined in the context of a preceding *kasrah* 'break [i]'. For example:

*yuriydu ʔan yadʿribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yadʿrib(ah)ē*  
'he wants to hit her' (II, P. 282, L. 20)

*yuriydu ʔan yanziʿahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yanziʿ(ah)ē*  
'he wants to remove it'  
(II, P. 282, L. 21)

**8.2** The feminine marker *hāʔ* [h] can be hidden, in which case the resulting form resembles another form on the surface, the dual. For example:

*yuriydu ʔan yadʿribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yadʿribā*

This leads to the inclination of the final *ʔalif* [A] in the relevant contexts. For example:

*yuriydu ʔan yadʿribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yadʿribā* → *yadʿribē*  
'he wants to hit her' (II, P. 282, L. 22)

**8.3** There is inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] in forms with the feminine *hāʔ* [h], and the forms without this *hāʔ* [h] are even more likely to incline. The following examples show the inclination when the [h] is pronounced:

*minhā* → *minhē* 'from her' (II, P. 283, L. 2)  
*madʿribahā* → *madʿribahē* 'her camp site' (II, P. 283, L. 2)  
*bihā* → *bihē* 'in her' (II, P. 283, L. 2)

The following examples illustrate the pronunciation when the *hāʔ* [h] is hidden, as in:

*min(h)ā* → *min(h)ē* 'from her' (II, P. 283, L. 4)  
*madʿrib(h)ā* → *madʿrib(h)ē* 'her camp site' (II, P. 283, L. 4)  
*b(ih)ā* → *b(ih)ē* 'in her' (II, P. 283, L. 4)

**8.4** Inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] is triggered by a preceding *yāʔ* [y] just as it was triggered by a preceding *kasrah* 'break [i]', as in the following examples:

*yuriydu ʔan yakiylahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yakiyl(ah)ē*  
'he wants to weigh her' (II, P. 283, L. 6)  
*lam yakilhā* → *lam yakil(h)ē* 'he did not weigh her'  
(II, P. 283, L. 6)

8.5 There is no inclination of the ʔalif [A] in the *raʔf* 'raising' marked with a *ḏammah* 'closed [u]', where [u] prevents inclination, as in the following:

*huwa yakiyluhā* 'he weighs her' (II, P. 283, L. 7)

8.6 There is no inclination of the ʔalif [A] where there is neither a *yāʔ* [y] nor a *kasrah* 'break [i]' to trigger it, as in the following examples:

*lam yaʔlamhā* 'he does not know her' (II, P. 283, L. 10)

*lam yaxaʔhā* 'he does not fear her' (II, P. 283, L. 10)

*raʔaytu damā* 'I saw blood' (II, P. 283, L. 13)

*damahā* 'her blood' (II, P. 283, L. 13)

8.7 There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] when the *yāʔ* [y] immediately precedes the ʔalif [A], as in the following:

*fiynā* → *fiynē* 'in us' (II, P. 283, L. 11)

*ʔalaynā* → *ʔalaynē* 'against us'

(II, P. 283, L. 11)

*bayniy wa baynahā* → *bayniy wa bayn(ah)ē* 'between me and her'

(II, P. 283, L. 11)

*raʔaytu yadā* → *raʔaytu yadē* 'I saw her hand'

(II, P. 283, L. 12)

*raʔaytu zīyanā* → *raʔaytu zīyanē* 'I saw beauty'

(II, P. 284, L. 6)

These are comparable to similar forms with a *kasrah* [i] as a trigger for inclination of the ʔalif [A], as in the following:

*yadʔribā* → *yadʔribē* 'they-d strike' (II, P. 283, L. 12)

*yadʔribahā* → *yadʔribahē* 'he strikes her' (II, P. 283, L. 13)

8.8 There is no inclination of the ʔalif [A] when barriers intervene between the ʔalif [A] and the *kasrah* 'break [i]', like an intervening [a], as in the following examples:

*raʔaytu ʔinabā* 'I saw grapes' (II, P. 283, L. 18)

*huwa ʔindānā* 'he is with us' (II, P. 283, L. 18)

*raʔaytu ʔawbahu bitakā* 'I saw his garment-with-bands'  
(II, P. 283, L. 19)

8.9 There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] in derived names from bi-radicals like from *ḏih* 'this'. For example:

*raʔaytu ḏihā* → *raʔayu ḏihē* 'I saw ḏihā' (II, P. 283, L. 20)

This is parallel to the dialect of those who say:

*yadʔribā* → *yadʔribē* 'they-d strike' (II, P. 284, L. 1)

*marra binā* → *marra binē* 'he passed by us' (II, P. 284, L. 1)

8.10 Those who incline the ʔalif [A] in general may still pronounce words without inclination despite the presence of the triggers, as testimony to the variation mentioned above. For example:

*raʔaytu yadā* → *\*raʔaytu yad(ah)ē* 'I saw her hand'  
(II, P. 284, L. 11)

*raʔaytu yadahā* → *\*raʔaytu yad(ah)ē* 'I saw her hand'  
(II, P. 284, L. 11)

*zīyanā* → *\*zīyanē* 'beauty'  
(II, P. 284, L. 12)

8.11 There is no inclination of the ʔalif [A] when the potentially inclinable form is in construction with the following word. Inclination is shown in the relevant words when they are not in construction, as in the following:

*yadʔribahā* → *yadʔribahē* 'he strikes her' (II, P. 284, L. 16)

*minnā* → *minnē* 'from us' (II, P. 284, L. 16)

*minhā* → *minhē* 'from her' (II, P. 284, L. 16)

*binā* → *binē* 'in us' (II, P. 284, L. 16)

*bayni wa baynahā* → *bayni wa baynahē* 'between me and her'  
(II, P. 284, L. 21)

The lack of inclination is shown when a word ending in [ā] is in construction with the following word, as follows:

*yuriydu ʔan yadʔribahā zaydun* 'Zayd wants to strike her' (II, P. 284, L. 16)

*minnā zaydun* 'Zayd is one of us' (II, P. 284, L. 16)

*bayni wa baynahā mālun* 'there is property between her and me' (II, P. 284, L. 21)

8.12 There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] by some when there is no obvious trigger in the context, even when in construction with the following word, as the contrast in the following pair:

ʔulibnā zaydun → ʔulibnē zaydun 'we were requested by Zayd' (II, P. 284, L. 22)  
 ʔalabanā zaydun → ʔalabanē zaydun 'Zayd requested us' (II, P. 284, L. 23)

8.13 There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] that is triggered by a previous inclination, as in:

miʔzānā → miʔzēnā → miʔzēnē 'our goat' (II, P. 285, L. 1)  
 ʔimādā → ʔimēdā → ʔimēdē 'Imad-d.' (II, P. 284, L. 1)

Though this chapter touched on some variation and exceptions, the next chapter will pick up the theme of exceptions afresh.

## 9: Analysis of Chapter Three (479)

This is a Chapter on What is Inclined not According to *Giyās* 'Pattern'; Rather, it is Exceptional

9.00 As a first formalization of the grammar of Arabic, Sībawayh in his book isolates the regularities he finds in the language according to the patterns of the language. This pattern he calls *Giyās*. As illustrated in the previous two chapters, the *Giyās* states that ʔimālah 'inclination' of an ʔalif [A] comes about if the ʔalif [A] has a *kasrah* [i] or a *yāʔ* [y] in its immediate environments. But Sībawayh also notices irregularities. These irregularities, or the so-called exceptional cases, are when there is ʔimālah without the phonetic triggers that affected the ʔimālah changes that he had observed in their proper environments. In accounting for the data available to him he does not overlook such irregularities but pauses to give us examples of them. In addition, he reaches into the deeper social/linguistic contexts to give a rationale for their occurrence. He puts such irregularities beyond phonetics into a larger social context to justify their occurrence. The justification of their occurrence is the greater frequency of use of some lexical items, which affects their usage by the language users, who prefer the use of the inclined to the un-inclined ʔalif [A]. The preference on the part of the users for the use of ʔimālah in forms with an ʔalif [A] in frequent lexical items is the justification for these unusual forms.

9.1 There is inclination of ʔalif [A] in frequently occurring personal names. For example:

ʔal-ḥaggāg → ʔal-ḥaggēg 'ʔal-ḥaggāg' (II, P. 285, L. 7)

There is neither expressed nor implied *kasrah* [i] nor a *yāʔ* [y] in the immediate context of the ʔalif [A] in ʔal-ḥaggāg to justify the change, except that it is a frequently used name.

9.2 The inclination of ʔalif [A] does not take place in a frequently

occurring common *sʿifah* ‘descriptive/adjective’ of a personal name. For example:

*ʔal-ḥaggāg* ‘a pilgrim to Mecca’ (II, P. 285, L. 8)

9.3 The inclination of *ʔalif* [A] happens in a frequently occurring common *ʔism* ‘name’. For example:

*ʔal-nās* → *ʔal-nēs* ‘the people’ (II, P. 285, L. 8)

This inclination is paralleled to that of *fāʿil* → *fēʿil* ‘actor’ when in *garr* ‘pull’, that is as the object of a preposition.

9.4 The inclination of *ʔalif* [A] occurs when it is perceived as a substitute for *yāʔ* [y] in frequently occurring common *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’. For example:

*hāḏā bābun* → *hāḏā bēbun* ‘this (is) a door’ (II, P. 285, L. 10)

*hāḏā māʼun* → *hāḏā mēʼun* ‘this (is) property’ (II, P. 285, L. 10)

*hāḏā ʿābun* → *hāḏā ʿēbun* ‘this (is) a disgrace’ (II, P. 285, L. 10)

Even though such cases occur, the majority of the people does not incline these forms and pronounces them with the *ʔalif* [A] (II, P. 285, L. 13). For example:

*hāḏā bābun* ‘this (is) a door’ (II, P. 285, L. 10–13)

*hāḏā māʼun* ‘this (is) wealth’ (II, P. 285, L. 10–13)

*hāḏā ʿābun* ‘this (is) a disgrace’ (II, P. 285, L. 10–13)

## 10: Analysis of Chapter Four (480)

This is a Chapter on Those Whose *ʔalifāt* [A]s are Prevented from *ʔimālah* ‘inclination’, but Which You Inclined Before

10.0 In the previous chapter (Chapter 9 (479)), Sībawayh discussed exceptional cases to the *ʔimālah* of *ʔalif* [A], that is, those in which the *ʔimālah* ‘inclination’ of the *ʔalif* [A] took place without there being a *kasrah* [i] or *yāʔ* [y] in the immediate context of the *ʔalif* [A]. In this chapter, he discusses phonetically systematic cases where inclination is prevented. The thrust of the chapter is the effect that *ʔal-ḥurūf ʔal-mustaʿliyah* ‘the raised letters’ – the *sʿād* [sʰ], the *dʿād* [dʰ], the *tʿād* [tʰ], the *ḏʿād* [ḏʰ], the *ḡayn* [ḡ], the *ḡāf* [ḡ] and the *xāʔ* [x] – have when they precede or follow the *ʔalif* [A].

10.1 Inclination of *ʔalif* [A] does not occur if one of the seven letters *sʿād* [sʰ], *dʿād* [dʰ], *tʿād* [tʰ], *ḏʿād* [ḏʰ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] or *xāʔ* [x] is before the *ʔalif* [A] (II, P. 285, L. 18–20). For example:

*sʿāʿidun* ‘climber’ (II, P. 285, L. 19)

*tʿāʿifun* ‘wanderer’ (II, P. 285, L. 19)

*yāʿibun* ‘absent’ (II, P. 285, L. 19)

*ḡāʿidun* ‘seated’ (II, P. 285, L. 19)

*xāʿidun* ‘inactive’ (II, P. 285, L. 19)

*dʿāminun* ‘guarantor’ (II, P. 285, L. 20)

*ḏʿālimun* ‘oppressor’ (II, P. 285, L. 20)

10.2 Inclination of *ʔalif* [A] does not occur if one of the seven letters *sʿād* [sʰ], *dʿād* [dʰ], *tʿād* [tʰ], *ḏʿād* [ḏʰ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ], or *xāʔ* [x] is after the *ʔalif* [A] (II, P. 286, L. 4–7). For example:

*nāʿidun* ‘critic’ (II, P. 286, L. 5)

*ʿāʿisun* ‘sneezer’ (II, P. 286, L. 5)

*ʿāʿimun* ‘protector’ (II, P. 286, L. 5)

*ʿāʿidun* ‘supporter’ (II, P. 286, L. 6)

*ṣāḍʿilun* 'repetitious' (II, P. 286, L. 6)  
*nāxilun* 'sifter' (II, P. 286, L. 6)  
*wāyilun* 'infiltrator' (II, P. 286, L. 65)<sup>78</sup>

**10.3** Inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] does not occur if one of the seven letters *sʿād* [sʿ], *ḏād* [dʿ], *ṯāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ], or *xāʔ* [x] is one letter after the *ʔalif* [A] (II, P. 286, L. 7–9). For example:

*nāfixun* 'blower' (II, P. 286, L. 8)  
*nābiyun* 'gifted' (II, P. 286, L. 8)  
*nāfiḡun* 'impious' (II, P. 286, L. 8)  
*ṣāḥiʿun* 'remote' (II, P. 286, L. 8)  
*ṣāliʿun* 'branded' (II, P. 286, L. 8)  
*nāhiḏʿun* 'rising' (II, P. 286, L. 8)  
*nāṣiʿun* 'energetic' (II, P. 286, L. 8)

The letter that is between the *ʔalif* [A] and the raised letter does not hinder it from this, 'just as *siyn* [s] is not precluded from becoming *sʿād* [sʿ] in *sabaḡtu* → *sʿabaḡtu* "I preceded", when there is a letter between the *siyn* [s] and the *ḡāf* [ḡ], and similar ones' (II, P. 286, L. 9).

This prohibition against inclination in the context of raised letters seems to have been universal. The text says, 'we know of no one who inclines this *ʔalif* [A] except the one whose dialect is not acceptable' (II, P. 286, L. 6 & 9–10).

**10.4** Inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] does not occur if one of the seven letters *sʿād* [sʿ], *ḏād* [dʿ], *ṯāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] or *xāʔ* [x] follows the *ʔalif* [A] after two intervening letters (II, P. 286, L. 12–13). For example:

*manāṣiyʿ* 'combs' (II, P. 286, L. 11)  
*manāfiyx* 'bellows' (II, P. 286, L. 11)  
*maṣāliḡ* 'pluck of animals' (II, P. 286, L. 12)  
*maḡāriyḏʿ* 'single blades of shears' (II, P. 286, L. 12)  
*mawāṣiyḏʿ* 'sermons' (II, P. 286, L. 12)  
*mabāliyy* 'sums of money' (II, P. 286, L. 12)

Two letters between the *ʔalif* [A] and the raised letter do not hinder it from this, just as *siyn* [s] is not precluded from becoming *sʿād* [sʿ] in *suwayḡ* → *sʿuwayḡ* 'little market', where there are two letters between the *siyn* [s] and the *ḡāf* [ḡ] and similar ones (II, P. 286, L. 14).

There is an aside to this list when Sībawayh states that when the constraints are relaxed some people incline the *ʔalif* [A] and say:

*manāṣiyʿ* → *manēṣiyʿ* 'combs' (II, P. 286, L. 14)

There is an inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] here, but this is rare (II, P. 286, L. 14).

**10.5** Inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] is not prevented if one of the seven letters *sʿād* [sʿ], *ḏād* [dʿ], *ṯāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] or *xāʔ* [x] is before the *ʔalif* [A] by a letter and is *maksuwrān* 'broken with an [i]' (II, P. 286, L. 14). For example:

*ʔal-ḏiṣāf* → *ʔal-ḏiṣēf* 'weaklings' (II, P. 287, L. 1)  
*sʿiṣāb* → *sʿiṣēb* 'difficulties' (II, P. 287, L. 1)  
*ṯināb* → *ṯinēb* 'ropes' (II, P. 287, L. 1)  
*sʿiṣāf* → *sʿiṣēf* 'descriptives' (II, P. 287, L. 1)  
*ḡibāb* → *ḡibēb* 'domes' (II, P. 287, L. 1)  
*ḡiṣāf* → *ḡiṣēf* 'round boats' (II, P. 287, L. 1)  
*xibāḏ* → *xibēḏ* 'evils' (II, P. 287, L. 1)  
*yilāb* → *yilēb* 'contests' (II, P. 287, L. 1)

This change parallels the different effects on *siyn* [s] in the environment of the raised letters. It is changed to a *sʿād* [sʿ] in words like:

*suḡtu* → *sʿuḡtu* 'I drove' (II, P. 286, L. 17)  
*sabaḡtu* → *sʿabaḡtu* 'I preceded' (II, P. 286, L. 17)

In words like the following there is no change in *siyn* [s]:

*Gasawtu* 'I was cruel' (II, P. 286, L. 20)  
*Gistu* 'I measured' (II, P. 286, L. 20)

Here there is no such change (II, P. 286, L. 20). The issue here is the direction of assimilation which these examples illustrate. Fundamentally, assimilation in Arabic is regressive.<sup>79</sup>

78 This is taken from Buwlaḡ edition II, p. 264. Derenbourg repeats *nāḡidun*.

79 Assimilation will be taken up in a book on assimilation which is in preparation.

**10.6** Inclination of ʔalif [A] occurs if the beginning of a word is *maksuwran* ‘broken with an [i]’ and between the ‘break [i]’ and the ʔalif [A] there are two letters, one of which is quiescent, and the quiescent one is one of the ‘raised’ letters, *sʿād* [sʿ], *dʿād* [dʿ], *tʿāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏʿāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] or *xāʔ* [x]. In this case the inclination will affect the ʔalif [A] because the break [i] is one letter removed from the ʔalif [A] by a quiescent letter, and quiescent letters do not affect the power of a break [i] to cause an ʔalif [A] to be inclined – it is as though they are not there and the break [i] is immediately before the ʔalif [A]. This happens with the *ḡāf* [ḡ] in:

|                       |   |                       |                                              |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| <i>ḡifāf</i>          | → | <i>ḡifēf</i>          | ‘round boats’ (II, P. 287, L. 8)             |
| <i>nāḡatun miḡlāt</i> | → | <i>nāḡatun miḡlēt</i> | ‘a roasted camel-f.’<br>(II, P. 287, L. 8)   |
| <i>ʔal-misʿbāh</i>    | → | <i>ʔal-misʿbēh</i>    | ‘the lamp’ (II, P. 287, L. 8)                |
| <i>ʔal-mitʿṣān</i>    | → | <i>ʔal-mitʿṣēn</i>    | ‘the one that pierces’<br>(II, P. 287, L. 8) |

**10.7** Inclination of the final ʔalif [A] occurs if it is preceded by one of the raised letters *sʿād* [sʿ], *dʿād* [dʿ], *tʿāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏʿāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ], or *xāʔ* [x] with an [i]. For example:

|                       |   |                       |                                            |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>raʔaytu ḡizhā</i>  | → | <i>raʔaytu ḡizhē</i>  | ‘I saw the rainbow’<br>(II, P. 287, L. 12) |
| <i>ʔāṭaytu dʿimnā</i> | → | <i>ʔāṭaytu dʿimnē</i> | ‘I accompanied’<br>(II, P. 287, L. 12)     |

**10.8** If the ʔalif [A] follows one of the ‘raised’ letters *sʿād* [sʿ], *dʿād* [dʿ], *tʿāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏʿāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] or *xāʔ* [x], because they are erected as in the positions of the *ḡayn* [ḡ] in *yānim* ‘Ghanim’ and the *ḡāf* [ḡ] in *ḡāʔim* ‘upright’, they are not inclined. For example:

|                      |   |                      |                                                  |
|----------------------|---|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <i>raʔaytu ṣirḡā</i> | → | <i>raʔaytu ṣirḡē</i> | ‘I saw a root’<br>(II, P. 287, L. 13)            |
| <i>raʔaytu milyā</i> | → | <i>raʔaytu milyē</i> | ‘I saw the offensive one’<br>(II, P. 287, L. 13) |

**10.9** Inclination of the final ʔalif [A] occurs when preceded by a feminine *hāʔ* [h], but there is no inclination when followed by one of the raised

letters *sʿād* [sʿ], *dʿād* [dʿ], *tʿāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏʿāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ], or *xāʔ* [x]. For example:

|                                     |   |                                       |                                                         |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā zaydun</i> | → | <i>ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿrib(ah)ē zaydun</i> | ‘Zayd wanted to strike her’ (II, P. 287, L. 14)         |
| <i>ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā ḡablu</i>  |   |                                       | ‘he wanted to strike her before’<br>(II, P. 287, L. 15) |

**10.10** There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] that is in place of a *yāʔ* [y]. These forms have the *faʔaltu* form with a *kasrah* [i] like *xāfa* – *xiftu* ‘he feared – I feared’, because he [the speaker] is looking for the ‘break [i]’ that is in *xiftu* ‘I feared’. For example:

|                   |   |             |                                   |
|-------------------|---|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>nāba (nwb)</i> | → | <i>nēba</i> | ‘represent’ (II, P. 287, L. 15)   |
| <i>māla (myl)</i> | → | <i>mēla</i> | ‘he inclined’ (II, P. 287, L. 15) |
| <i>bāʿa (byʿ)</i> | → | <i>bēʿa</i> | ‘he sold’ (II, P. 287, L. 15)     |
| <i>xāfa (xwf)</i> | → | <i>xēfa</i> | ‘he feared’ (II, P. 287, L. 13)   |

**10.11** Inclination occurs in the final ʔalifāt [A]s that are parts of structures with a *yāʔ* [y], and the ‘raised’ letters *sʿād* [sʿ], *dʿād* [dʿ], *tʿāʔ* [tʿ], *ḏʿāʔ* [ḏʿ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] and *xāʔ* [x] do not prevent their inclination. For example:

|                     |   |              |                                  |
|---------------------|---|--------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>ḡublā (ḡbly)</i> | → | <i>ḡublē</i> | ‘pregnant’ (II, P. 287, L. 18)   |
| <i>muṣṭā (mṣʿy)</i> | → | <i>muṣṭē</i> | ‘gift’ (II, P. 287, L. 18)       |
| <i>saḡā (sḡy)</i>   | → | <i>saḡē</i>  | ‘watered’ (II, P. 287, L. 19)    |
| <i>sʿayā (sʿyy)</i> | → | <i>sʿayē</i> | ‘listened-d’ (II, P. 287, L. 20) |
| <i>dʿayā (dʿyy)</i> | → | <i>dʿayē</i> | ‘cheated-d’ (II, P. 287, L. 20)  |

**10.12** Inclination of ʔalif [A] does not occur in those forms that are the doubled of the *fāʔil* and *fawāʔil* forms and their likes, in which the letter before the ʔalif [A] is ‘open [a]’ and the letter after the ʔalif [A] is quiescent with no *kasrah* ‘break [i]’. In these cases there is no trigger for inclination. For example:

|                                  |                                                    |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>hāḏā ḡāddun</i>               | ‘this (is) serious’ (II, P. 287, L. 22)            |
| <i>hāḏā māddun</i>               | ‘this (is the) substance’ (II, P. 287, L. 22)      |
| <i>ḡawāddun</i>                  | ‘these (are the) main streets’ (II, P. 287, L. 22) |
| <i>marartu bi-ragulin ḡāddin</i> | ‘I passed by a serious man’<br>(II, P. 287, L. 22) |



**10.13** Inclination does not occur across word boundaries in *ʔidʿāfah* ‘annexation’<sup>80</sup> when the *ʔalif*[A] is followed by one of the raised letters *sʿād*[sʿ], *dʿād*[dʿ], *tʿāʔ*[tʿ], *ḏʿāʔ*[ḏʿ], *ʔayn*[ʔ], *Gāf*[G] or *xāʔ*[x], but there is inclination when it is not followed by such a letter. For example:

- marartu bi-māli Gāsimin* ‘I passed by the property of Qasim’  
(II, P. 288, L. 5)  
*marartu bi-māli māliḡin* ‘I passed by the property of Maliq’  
(II, P. 288, L. 5)  
*marartu bi-māli yangulu* ‘I passed by the property of Yangulu’  
(II, P. 288, L. 5)  
*marartu bi-māli zaydin* → *marartu bi-mēli zaydin* ‘I passed by Zayd’s property’ (II, P. 288, L. 5)

This power to ‘erect’ does not carry across the *munfasʿil* ‘un-annexed’ in *ʔidʿāfah* ‘annexation’ for everyone, as some incline the *ʔalif*[A] and say:

- bi-māli Gāsimin* → *bi-mēli Gāsimin* ‘by the property of Qasim’  
(II, P. 288, L. 6)

**10.14** Inclination of the *ʔalif*[A] does not occur across word boundaries when it is followed by a *Gāf*[G], but it occurs when followed by a non-raised letter. For example:

- ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā Gāsimun* ‘he wanted Qāsim to strike her’  
(II, P. 288, L. 9)  
*minnā faḡlun* ‘Faql is one of us’  
(II, P. 288, L. 10)  
*ʔarāda ʔan yaḡlamahā maliḡun* ‘he wanted that Maliq know her’  
(II, P. 288, L. 10)  
*ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā samlaḡun* ‘he wanted Samlaq to strike her’  
(II, P. 288, L. 10)  
*ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā yangalu* ‘he wanted Yanqul to strike her’  
(II, P. 288, L. 10)  
*ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribanā bisawʿin* ‘he wanted to strike us with a whip’ (II, P. 288, L. 10)

<sup>80</sup> *ʔidʿāfah* ‘annexation’ creates an environment for *ʔimālah* ‘inclination’ to take effect by making the *mudʿāfʔilayhi* ‘annexed to’ with an [i].

- yuriydu ʔan yaḏʿribahā zaydun* → *yuriydu ʔan yaḏʿrib(ah)ē zaydun*  
‘Zayd wants to strike her’  
(II, P. 288, L. 8)  
*zaydun minnā* → *zaydun minnē* ‘Zayd (is one) of us’ (II, P. 288, L. 9)

**10.15** Inclination of the *ʔalif*[A] across word boundaries occurs in the speech of many when there is a *Gāf*[G]. For example:

- bi-māli Gāsimin* → *bi-mēli Gāsimin* ‘with the property of Qāsim’  
(II, P. 288, L. 17)  
*hāḏā ḡlimu Gāsimin* → *hāḏā ḡlimu Gāsimin* ‘This is a scientist of Qāsim’ (II, P. 288, L. 17)  
*nuḡmā Gāsimin* → *nuḡmē Gāsimin* ‘grace of Qāsim’  
(II, P. 288, L. 18)

**10.16** Inclination of the *ʔalif*[A] occurs where it must not occur according to the *ḡiyās* ‘pattern’ in the speech of some, which is rare. They are likened to the *ʔalif*[A] of *ḡublā* ‘pregnant’. For example:

- talabanā* → *talabanē* ‘he requested us’ (II, P. 289, L. 2)  
*ḡinabā* → *ḡinabē* ‘grapes’ (II, P. 289, L. 3)  
*ḡanatā* → *ḡanatē* ‘Anata’ (II, P. 289, L. 3)  
*raʔaytu ḡirḡā* → *raʔaytu ḡirḡē* ‘I saw roots’ (II, P. 289, L. 2)  
*raʔaytu dʿiyḡē* → *raʔaytu dʿiyḡē* ‘I saw straits’ (II, P. 289, L. 2)

Forms like *talabanā* → *talabanē* ‘he requested us’ and *ḡirḡā* → *ḡirḡē* ‘roots’ are exceptional since they are so rare.

**10.17** Inclination of the *ʔalif*[A] does not occur in forms that look like *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’ but are not names. For example:

- ḡattā* ‘until’ (II, P. 289, L. 8)  
*ʔammā* ‘however’ (II, P. 289, L. 8)  
*ʔillā* ‘except’ (II, P. 289, L. 8)  
*lā* ‘no’ (II, P. 289, L. 11)  
*mā* ‘whatever’ (II, P. 289, L. 11)

**10.18** Inclination occurs in the *ʔalif*[A] of the following, because they behave like *ʔasmāʔ* ‘names’. For example:

|                 |   |                  |                               |
|-----------------|---|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>ʔannā</i>    | → | <i>ʔ annē</i>    | ‘whence’ (II, P. 289, L. 10)  |
| <i>li-ʔannā</i> | → | <i>li-ʔ annē</i> | ‘because’ (II, P. 289, L. 10) |
| <i>ḏā</i>       | → | <i>ḏē</i>        | ‘this’ (II, P. 289, L. 11)    |
| <i>bā</i>       | → | <i>bē</i>        | ‘b’ (II, P. 289, L. 13)       |
| <i>tā</i>       | → | <i>tē</i>        | ‘t’ (II, P. 289, L. 13)       |

## 11: Analysis of Chapter Five (481)

This is a Chapter on the *rāʔ* [r]

**11.00** In the previous chapter (Chapter 10 (480)), Sībawayh discussed the effect that *ʔal-ḥuruwf ʔal-mustafliyah* ‘the raised letters’ – the *sʔād* [sʔ], the *dʔād* [dʔ], the *tʔāʔ* [tʔ], the *ḏʔāʔ* [ḏʔ], the *ḡayn* [ḡ], the *ḡāf* [ḡ] and the *xāʔ* [x] – have on the *ʔalifāt* [A]s. They prevent *ʔimālah* ‘inclination’. In this chapter he takes up the case of *rāʔ* [r] and its effect on the *ʔimālah* of the *ʔalif* [A]. *rāʔ* [r] is a unique sound in that it is *mukarrar* ‘repeated’, which gives it greater solidity than a single letter. Every *rāʔ* [r], when it is set in motion, is like having two letters with two *fathahs* [a]s, two *dʔammahs* [u]s or two *kasrahs* [i]s. In this it vies with the raised letters for dominance of the environment of the *ʔalif* [A].

**11.1** ‘The *rāʔ* [r] comes out doubled as though spoken with two [a]s or two [u]s, and it has the status of *ḡāf* [ḡ]. It prevents inclination when it comes before the *ʔalif* [A]’ (II, P. 289, L. 20). For example:

*hāḏā rāšidun* ‘This (is) Rāshid’ (II, P. 289, L. 20)

*hāḏā firāšun* ‘This (is) a bed’ (II, P. 289, L. 20)

**11.2** There is no inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] if the *rāʔ* [r] follows the *ʔalif* [A] and the following *rāʔ* [r] is with a *dʔammah* [u] or with a *fathah* [a]. For example:

*hāḏā ḥimārun* ‘this (is) an ass’ (II, P. 290, L. 1)

**11.3** There is inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] if the *rāʔ* [r] is *magruwr* ‘pulled’, marked with a *kasrah* ‘break [i]’ and follows the *ʔalif* [A]. It is as though there were two letters with an [i] after it. For example:

*min ḥimāriki* → *min ḥimēriki* ‘from your-f ass’ (II, P. 290, L. 5)

*min ʔawārihi* → *min ʔawērihi* ‘from your shame’ (II, P. 290, L. 5)

*min ʔal-muʔāri* → *min ʔal-muʔēri* ‘from the borrowed’ (II, P. 290, L. 5)

*min ʔal-duwāri* → *min ʔal-duwēri* ‘from the dizziness’ (II, P. 290, L. 5)



11.4 There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] if the *rāʔ* [r] with a 'break [i]' is after the ʔalif [A], even in a context of preceding 'raised' letters. The *rāʔ* [r] overpowers the constraint of the 'raised' letters before the ʔalif [A]. This is due to the doubling of the *rāʔ* [r] with the [i]. For example:

- Gāribun* → *Gēribun* 'round boat' (II, P. 290, L. 6)  
*ʔārimun* → *ʔērimun* 'debtor' (II, P. 290, L. 6)  
*ʔāridun* → *ʔēridun* 'expeller' (II, P. 290, L. 6)  
*min Girārika* → *min Girērika* 'from your basis' (II, P. 290, L. 11)

11.5 The ʔalif [A] does not incline in cases where although there is a *rāʔ* [r] with a *kasrah* 'break [i]' it is followed by a raised letter. The raised letter, *Gāf* [G], neutralizes the effect of [-ri] and prevents ʔimālah 'inclination' of the ʔalif [A]. For example:

- hāḏihi nāGatun fāriGun* 'this (is) a distinctive f.-camel' (II, P. 290, L. 10)  
*hāḏihi ʔaynuGun mafāriyGu* 'these (are) distinctive f.-camels' (II, P. 290, L. 10)

This is done on the same pattern of words, such as in the following where the raised letter follows the ʔalif [A]:

- nāfiGun* 'croaker' (II, P. 290, L. 11)  
*munāfiGun* 'hypocrite' (II, P. 290, L. 11)  
*manāšiyʔu* 'combs' (II, P. 290, L. 11)

11.6 There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] when a *rāʔ* [r] that is not with a 'break [i]' does not immediately follow the ʔalif [A], when there is between it and the ʔalif [A] a letter. It does not have the power of the raised letters to prevent ʔimālah 'inclination' of the ʔalif [A] from a distance. The *kasrah* 'break [i]' does its work, since there was no *rāʔ* [r] immediately after the ʔalif [A]. For example:

- ʔa-kāfiruwn* → *ʔal-kēfiruwn* 'the infidels' (II, P. 290, L. 17)  
*raʔaytu ʔa-kāfiriyn* → *raʔaytu ʔa-kēfiriyn* 'I saw the infidels' (II, P. 290, L. 17)  
*ʔal-kāfir* → *ʔal-kēfir* 'the infidel' (II, P. 290, L. 17)  
*hiyā ʔal-manābir* → *hiyā ʔal-manēbir* 'they are the pulpits' (II, P. 290, L. 17)

11.7 There is a distinction made between an ʔalif [A] that is immediately followed by a *rāʔ* [r] with 'break [i]' and one that is separated by a segment. When both these ʔalifāt [A]s follow a *Gāf* [G] one has no inclination while the other has it. For example the following contrastive pair:

- Gāribun* → *Gēribun* 'a boat' (II, P. 291, L. 10)  
*bi-Gādirin* 'in Qādir' (II, P. 291, L. 10)

11.8 There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] before a *kasrah* 'break [i]' in the speech of some, irrespective of the presence of a raised letter. For example:

- Gāribun* → *Gēribun* 'a boat' (II, P. 291, L. 13)  
*gārimun* → *gērimun* 'a harvester' (II, P. 291, L. 13)

There are more speakers for the second type of inclination than the first like in the following phrases (II, P. 291, L. 17):

- marartu bikāfirin* → *marartu bikēfirin* 'I passed by an infidel' (II, P. 291, L. 17)  
*marartu biGādirin* → *marartu biGēdirin* 'I passed by Qādir' (II, P. 291, L. 17)

11.9 There is no inclination of an ʔalif [A] after [-ri] when a raised letter like *Gāf* [G] follows it immediately, but there is inclination if the raised letter is not in such a close proximity. For example, without inclination:

- himāri Gāsimin* 'Qāsim's ass' (II, P. 291, L. 22)  
*māli Gāsimin* 'Qāsim's property' (II, P. 291, L. 22)  
*bisafāri Gablu* 'by Safar before' (II, P. 291, L. 23)

And with inclination:

- gārimi Gāsimin* → *gērimi Gāsimin* 'Qāsim's offence' (II, P. 291, L. 22)  
*ʔābidi Gāsimin* → *ʔēbidi Gāsimin* 'worshiper of Qāsim' (II, P. 291, L. 23)

11.10 There is inclination of the ʔalif [A] when the *rāʔ* [r] is a repeated letter. It is also called a trilled letter with a *kasrah* [i], as in the case of *marartu biḡārrin* → *marartu biḡērrin* 'I passed by a fugitive', where the

[-ri] follows a quiescent [r] and is thus once removed, that is, a single *rāʔ* [r] is like a repeated [r], which is like [r-ri] or even like [-ri-ri]. For example:

*hāḏiḥi sʿafāriru* → *hāḏiḥi sʿafēriyru* 'these are eaves' (II, P. 292, L. 5)  
*ʔal-mawāriru* → *ʔal-mawēriru* 'terrains' (II, P. 292, L. 6)  
*Gawāriyr* → *Gawēriyr* 'vases' (II, P. 292, L. 7)  
*hāḏiḥi danāniyr* → *danēniyr* 'these are dinars' (II, P. 292, L. 8)

11.11 There is no inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] in cases of quiescence where there is no pronounced *kasrah* [i], as in:

*hāḏā dāf* 'this is a suppliant' (II, P. 292, L. 10)

Where *dāf* ends in quiescence without showing the *kasrah* [i] motion.

This does not hold for the final, without a motion, *rāʔ* [r]. The repeated nature of the letter makes the first *rāʔ* [r] as though it is with a *kasrah* [i] before a quiescent other *rāʔ* [r] and hence the inclination of the *ʔalef* [A] in the following examples:

*bi-ḥimār* → *bi-ḥimēr* 'by an ass' (II, P. 292, L. 11)  
*mina ʔal-nār* → *mina ʔal-nēr* 'from the fire' (II, P. 292, L. 13)  
*fiy mahārā* → *fiy mahērā* 'in fleet of camels' (II, P. 292, L. 14)

11.12 Final *hāʔ* [h] where it is comparable to an inclined *ʔalif* [A]. For example:

*dʿarabtu dʿarbah* → *dʿarabtu dʿarbe* 'I struck a blow' (II, P. 292, L. 14)  
*ʔaxaḏtu ʔaxḏah* → *ʔaxaḏtu ʔaxḏe* 'I took a turn' (II, P. 292, L. 14)

11.13 *rāʔ* [r] is weaker than *Gāf* [G] in preventing inclination. For example, for [G]:

*ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā Gāsimun* 'he wants Qāsim to strike her' (II, P. 292, L. 15)  
*bimāli Gāsimin* 'with the property of Qāsim' (II, P. 292, L. 15)

For examples with [r]:

*ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā rāšidun* → *ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahē rāšidun* 'he wanted Rāshid to hit her' (II, P. 292, L. 15)  
*bimāli rāšidin* → *bimēli rāšidin* 'with the property of Rashid' (II, P. 292, L. 15)

11.14 *rāʔ* [r] is weaker than *Gāf* [G] in preventing *ʔimālah* 'inclination' as shown in the following examples:

*ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā Gāsimun* 'he wanted that Qāsim hit her' (II, P. 292, L. 15)  
*bi-māli Gāsimin* 'in the wealth of Qāsim' (II, P. 292, L. 15)  
*ʔarāda ʔan yaḏʿribahā rāšidun* 'He wanted that Rāšid hit her' (II, P. 292, L. 15)  
*bi-māli rāšidin* 'in the wealth of Rāšid' (II, P. 292, L. 15)

11.15 There is no inclination of a final *ʔalif* [A] after a *rāʔ* [r] or *Gāf* [G] preceded by a *kasrah* [i] with a letter intervening. For example:

*raʔaytu ʕifrā* 'I saw the swine' (II, P. 292, L. 16)  
*raʔaytu ʕilGā*<sup>81</sup> 'I saw a jewel' (II, P. 292, L. 16)  
*raʔaytu ʕirGā* 'I saw ʕirqa' (II, P. 292, L. 16)  
*raʔaytu ʕiyrā* 'I saw a wild ass' (II, P. 292, L. 16)  
*dʿiyGā* 'straits' (II, P. 292, L. 17)  
*hāḏā ʕimrān* 'this is Imran' (II, P. 292, L. 16)  
*ḥimGānun* 'insolent' (II, P. 292, L. 16)  
*raʔaytuka ʕasirā* → *raʔaytuka ʕasirē* 'I found you desperate' (II, P. 292, L. 20)

11.16 There is inclination of the *ʔalif* [A] when the *kasrah* 'break [i]' is first, and the *ʔalif* [A] is a *zāʔidah* 'added' *ʔalif* [A]. For example:

*ʕimrān* → *ʕimrēn* 'edifice' (II, P. 293, L. 2)  
*gilbābun* → *gilbēbun* 'garment' (II, P. 293, L. 3)  
*ḏā firāšun* → *firēšun* 'that is a bed' (II, P. 293, L. 4)  
*hāḏā girābun* → *girēbun* 'this is a bag' (II, P. 293, L. 4)  
*ʕigrān* → *ʕigrēn* 'drugged' (II, P. 293, L. 3)  
*niyrān* → *niyrēn* 'boiling' (II, P. 293, L. 5)

81 This is as found in Buwlaq Vol. 2, p. 270. Derenbourg has *ʕilfā*.

## 12: Analysis of Chapter Six (482)

This is a Chapter on the Letters that are Inclined That  
Do Not Have the *ʔalif* [A] After Them, if the *rā* [r]  
After Them is 'Broken with an [i]'

**12.00** This chapter concludes the section on the *ʔimālah* 'inclination' of *ʔalif* [A] with the extension of the process beyond the letter *ʔalif* [A] to the other letters, or, more specifically, to the *ḥarakāt* 'motions' of the other letters. In the previous chapters, *ʔimālah* 'inclination' affected a letter of *madd* 'length', namely the *ʔalif* [A]. The *ḥarakāt* 'motions' are considered to be parts or pieces of *ḥuruwf ʔal-madd* 'the letters of length' (II, P. 293, L. 9). The long *ʔalif* [A] and short *ʔalif* [A], the *fathah* 'open [a]', and the other *ḥarakāt* 'motions' are now subject to the process of inclination when followed by the *rā*? [r] *maksuwrah* 'broken with an [i]', that is, by [-ri]. The process of *ʔimālah* is focused on the effect of the following [-ri] on the preceding *ʔalif* [A] as this power is extended to the other letters with their motions.

**12.1** Letters that are with *fathah* 'open [a]', not an *ʔalif* [A], are inclined if the *rā*? [r] after them is 'broken with an [i]'. For example:

|                         |                                                |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| <i>mina ʔal-dʿarari</i> | → <i>mina ʔal-dʿareri</i> 'from the harm'      |
|                         | (II, P. 293, L. 7)                             |
| <i>mina ʔal-baʿari</i>  | → <i>mina ʔal-baʿeri</i> 'from the dung'       |
|                         | (II, P. 293, L. 7)                             |
| <i>mina ʔal-kibari</i>  | → <i>mina ʔal-kiberi</i> 'from the greatness'  |
|                         | (II, P. 293, L. 7)                             |
| <i>mina ʔal-sʿiyari</i> | → <i>mina ʔal-sʿiyeri</i> 'from the smallness' |
|                         | (II, P. 293, L. 7)                             |
| <i>mina ʔal-fuGari</i>  | → <i>mina ʔal-fuGeri</i> 'from the poverty'    |
|                         | (II, P. 293, L. 7)                             |
| <i>min ʕamri</i>        | → <i>min ʕemri</i> 'from Amr'                  |
|                         | (II, P. 293, L. 11)                            |

|                           |                                               |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| <i>mina ʔal-muḥāḍʿari</i> | → <i>mina ʔal-muḥāḍʿeri</i> 'from the warner' |
|                           | (II, P. 293, L. 12)                           |
| <i>mina ʔal-maʿari</i>    | → <i>mina ʔal-maʿeri</i> 'from the rain'      |
|                           | (II, P. 293, L. 19)                           |

**12.2** There is inclination of an *ʔalif* [A] before the [-ri] even when the *ʔalif* [A] is preceded by a raised letter. For example:

|               |                                              |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------|
| <i>Gārib</i>  | → <i>Gērib</i> 'boat' (II, P. 293, L. 11)    |
| <i>dʿārib</i> | → <i>dʿērib</i> 'hitter' (II, P. 293, L. 11) |

**12.3** There is inclination of a *dʿammah* 'closed [u]' before the [-ri]. For example:

|                                 |                                                                                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ʕagabtu mina ʔal-samuri</i>  | → <i>ʕagabtu mina ʔal-sameri</i> 'I liked the entertainment' (II, P. 293, L. 16)    |
| <i>ʕaribtu mina ʔal-munGuri</i> | → <i>ʕaribtu mina ʔal-munGeri</i> 'I drank from the hollow-out' (II, P. 293, L. 17) |

**12.4** There is inclination of *ḥarakāt* 'motions' in the *munfasʿil* 'unconnected', that is, even when the [-ri] is across word boundary. For example:

|                                 |                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>raʔaytu xabaʿa ʔal-riyfi</i> | → <i>raʔaytu xabaʿe ʔal-riyfi</i> 'I saw the leaves of the countryside' (II, P. 293, L. 17) |
| <i>hāḍa xabaʿu riyāḥin</i>      | → <i>hāḍa xabaʿe riyāḥin</i> 'this (is) a swirl of wind' (II, P. 293, L. 18)                |
| <i>raʔaytu xabaʿa firindin</i>  | → <i>raʔaytu xabaʿe firindin</i> 'I saw the swirls of a garment' (II, P. 293, L. 18)        |

**12.5** There is inclination when the *ḥarakah* 'motion', that is hidden within the *yā*? [y], is before the [-ri]. For example:

|                          |                                                                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>marartu bi-ʕayrin</i> | → <i>marartu bi-ʕeyrin</i> 'I passed by a wild ass' (II, P. 293, L. 19) |
| <i>marartu bi-xayrin</i> | → <i>marartu bi-xeyrin</i> 'I passed in peace' (II, P. 293, L. 19)      |

**12.6** There is inclination when the *ḥarakah* 'motion' that is hidden within the *wāw* [w] is before the [-ri]. For example:

*hāḏā ʔibnu maḏṣuwrin* → *hāḏā ʔibnu maḏṣuwerin* ‘this (is) the son of Mathṣur’ (II, P. 293, L. 14)

12.7 There is no inclination with the *ḥarakah* ‘motion’ if the [-ri] is followed by a raised letter. For example:

*mina ʔal-ṣariGi* ‘from spittle’ (II, P. 294, L. 5)  
*hāḏā māriGun* ‘this is an apostate’ (II, P. 294, L. 5)

## 13: Dialects

### 13.00 *ʔimālah* and the Dialects in Sībawayh<sup>82</sup>

In his discussion of *ʔimālah* ‘inclination’, Sībawayh is careful to point out that even though *ʔimālah* is a common phenomenon, found to a greater or lesser extent in different dialects, it is neither a uniform nor a universal phenomenon in all its manifestations. There are individual speakers, certain groups of speakers, or whole speech communities that may or may not use *ʔimālah* in their speech in specific contexts. There are scattered references to these speakers throughout the six chapters discussed above. It is of interest to students of Arabic and linguistics that Sībawayh gave so much attention to the dialects of Arabic. By taking account of their differences at this early stage of the analysis of Arabic he showed his positive attitude to the dialects. It is of equal fascination that Sībawayh isolated the same rules and the same postulated generalizations that were operative across dialectal boundaries. In this approach, the *ʔimālah* rules assume the status of language rules that apply to the Arabic language in all its dialectal variations.

Throughout his discussion of *ʔimālah*, Sībawayh frequently refers to specific tribal preferences in the use of *ʔimālah*. He also offers his opinion on the acceptability, unacceptability or the degree of acceptability of the use or non-use of *ʔimālah* when looked at from the vantage point of the rules. There is, however, no social stigma attached to its use or non-use. The thrust of the analysis of *ʔimālah* is aimed more at accounting for the phenomenon, that is, at exploring the question of who uses it and under what conditions they use it, than on prescribing its use or non-use. The analysis aims at capturing generalizations that characterize the use of *ʔimālah* in certain classes of words that are equally subject to its rules.

In isolating the groups of speakers who do or do not use *ʔimālah* it is not always possible to be precise, nor to be geographically accurate as

82 ʔāl-Ghunaym (1985) provides the most thorough and up-to-date discussion of the dialects in the book of Sībawayh.

to whom the author has in mind. In the above analysis, approximately seventy generalizations about ʔimālah were isolated and highlighted, which is not necessarily an exhaustive accounting of all the cases. Sībawayh does not always provide specific adherents or non-adherents to each generalization; he is often content with stating the general norm with illustrative examples without specific attribution. When he does attribute, he covers a large geographical area from Tamiym to Hīgāz, from the east to the west of the Arabian peninsula. The following sections will, in a summary fashion, attempt to isolate those dialectal or tribal groups whom he characterizes, by name or by implication, by the use or the non-use of ʔimālah.

Before he delves into the details of accounting for the speakers who do or do not use ʔimālah, Sībawayh points to the similarity of the process of ʔimālah 'inclination' to the process of ʔidyām 'assimilation', in that ʔimālah is also a process in which ʔarāduw ʔan yuḡarribuw 'they want to approximate' (II, P. 279, L. 13) ʔalif [A] to kasrah [i] in certain contexts. To illustrate this similarity to ʔidyām he gives the examples of sʔād [sʔ] being approximated to zāy [z] in sʔadara → zʔadara 'sent' and siyn [s] becoming like a sʔād [sʔ] in sabagtu → sʔabagtu 'I preceded' (II, P. 279, L. 18). ʔimālah, for him, then, is a subspecies of ʔidyām. He discusses ʔidyām in detail much later in a section at the end of ʔal-Kitāb, (II. Chs. 565–71).

What follows here is an inventory of statements about the use or non-use of ʔimālah attributed to specific groups of speakers of Arabic. Sībawayh appeals to several principles in this process. The principle of ease of articulation, called by Sībawayh ʔiltimās ʔal-xiffah 'in search of lightness', explains why Arabs use ʔimālah (II, P. 279, L. 13): They want to bring ʔalif [A] closer towards the kasrah [i] (II, P. 279, L. 12). As Sībawayh says, 'inclination of the ʔalif [A] towards the yāʔ [y], ʔimālah, is more frequent in their speech' (II, P. 285, L. 6). Similarly, the [w] becomes a [y] 'because the yāʔ [y] is easier for them than wāw [w], so they leaned towards it' (II, P. 280, L. 13). He is cautious about making the process absolute, as there is some flexibility in the use of ʔimālah. He says:

Know that not everyone who ʔamāla 'inclined' the ʔalifāt [A]s agrees with the other Arabs who 'incline' them. Rather each member of the group may differ from his colleague so that someone yansʔub 'erects with an [a]' what his colleague 'inclines with an [e]', and 'inclines' some others that his colleague 'erects'. Similarly, those in whose language the

'erect' plays a part may not agree with the others who 'erect'. Rather his case and the case of his colleague is the same case as that of the first two with respect to 'break [i]'. If you were to see an Arab of that persuasion, do not fault him as though he mixed his language, but, rather, this is their style (II, P. 284, L. 1–6).

This is a generous statement on how much variation there might have been among speakers from different dialects or from the same dialect. Below follow some specific dialectal characteristics.

### 13.01 The Dialect of Hīgāz

ʔimālah 'inclination' is triggered in the presence of kasrah [i] before or after the ʔalif [A]. None of these ʔalifāt [A]s are inclined in the dialect of hīgāz (II, P. 279, L. 21ff), as in:

- ʔābid → \*ʔēbid 'worshiper' (II, P. 279, L. 11)  
 ʔimādun → \*ʔimēdun 'ʔimād' (II, P. 279, L. 17)  
 sirbālun → \*sirbēlun 'shirt' (II, P. 279, L. 21)

### 13.02 The Dialect of Hīgāz but not the general populace

ʔimālah 'inclination' is triggered in the presence of kasrah [i] in the faʔaltu form where the ʔayn [ʔ] is a yāʔ [y] or a wāw [w] changed to an ʔalif [A]. Some people of Hīgāz, but not the general populace, incline these forms (II, P. 281, L. 11), as in:

- xāfa (xwʔ) → xēfa 'he feared' (II, P. 281, L. 13)  
 ʔāba (ʔyʔ) → ʔēba 'he enjoyed' (II, P. 281, L. 13)

### 13.03 The Dialect of Hīgāz and many Arabs

ʔimālah 'inclination' is triggered in the presence of a yāʔ [y] before the ʔalif [A]. Many Arabs and the people of Hīgāz do not incline these ʔalifāt [A]s (II. P.282, L. 1), as in:

- kayyāl → \*kayyēl 'thorny tree' (II, P. 281, L. 20)  
 bayyāʔ → \*bayyēʔ 'vendor' (II, P. 281, L. 20)

### 13.04 The Dialect of some of the people of Hīgāz

'Those whose ʔalif [A] they incline include everything that belongs to the structures of yāʔ [y] and wāw [w], and in whatever they constitute the ʔayn [ʔ] of the form. If the beginning of the faʔaltu form is maksuwrān



“broken with an [i]”, they leaned towards the *yāʔ* [y] in those cases where the *ʔalif* [A] was in the position of *yāʔ* [y]. This is the language of some of the people of Ḥigāz’ (II, P. 281, L. 13), as in

*kayyāl* (kyl) → *kayyēl* ‘thorny tree’ (II, P. 281, L. 20)

*xāfa* (xwf) → *xēfa* ‘he feared’ (II, P. 281, L. 13)

*xāba* (xwb) → *xēba* ‘he failed’ (II, P. 281, L. 13)

### 13.05 Baniy Tamiym and others

*ʔimālah* ‘inclination’ is triggered in names with a *wāw* [w] that reach four letters or more, but many people from Baniy Tamiym and others do not incline these (II, P. 281, L. 4–5), as in:

*maʔdiyyun* (ʔdw) ‘running’ (II, P. 280, L. 13)

*masniyyun* (snw) ‘watering’ (II, P. 280, L. 10–13)

### 13.06 The Dialect of Baniy Tamiym, Qays and ʔasad

‘The feminine *hāʔ* [h] is hidden, like saying *yadʔribā* (for *yāʔribahā*). These are the people of Tamiym, and people of Qays and ʔasad also say it’ (II, P. 283 L. 16), as in:

*yuriydu ʔan yadʔ ribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yadʔ rib(ah)ē* ‘He wants to hit her’ (II, P. 283, L. 15)

They also say:

*minnā* → *minnē* ‘from us’ (II, P. 283, L. 16)

*ʔinnā ʔila ʔal-lāhi rāgiʔuwn* → *ʔinnē ʔila ʔal-lāhi rāgiʔuwn* ‘Indeed, to God we return’ (II, P. 283, L. 16)

### 13.07 The Dialect of Baniy Tamiym and others

Regarding the change of [w] to [y]: ‘All this is not inclined by many people of Baniy Tamiym, and others,’ as in

*maʔdiyyun* (ʔdw) ‘running’ (II, P. 281, L. 10–13)

### 13.08 The Dialect of KuṮayr ʔazzah

KuṮayr ʔazzah incline an *ʔalif* [A] even after a raised letter as in:

*sʔāra* → *sʔēra* ‘become’ (II, P. 281, L. 14)

### 13.09 Many People

‘Many people do not incline the extra *ʔalif* [A] of forms like *miʔzā* “goat” and *ḥublā* “pregnant” but leave it erect,’ as in:

*ḥublā* → *\*ḥublē* ‘pregnant’ (II, P. 281, L. 9)

*miʔzā* → *\*miʔzē* ‘goat’ (II, P. 281, L. 10)

### 13.10 Some Arabs

When the *ʔalif* [A] is in the *garr* ‘pull with an [i]’ construction, and the desinence (that is, word-end morphological markings) is not obligatory, some of the Arabs leave it as it is in pause, as in:

*marartu bi-l-māl* ‘I passed by the wealth’ (II, P. 282, L. 11–13)

### 13.11 Greater frequency

It is less frequent to say in pausal form:

*bi-l-māl* → *\*bi-l-mēl* ‘by the wealth’ (II, P. 282, L. 13)

than it is to say:

*marartu bi-mālika* → *marartu bi-mēlika* ‘I passed by your property’ (II, P. 282, L. 17)

### 13.12 Some Comparisons

‘Know that those who do not incline the *ʔalifāt* [A]s in what we have mentioned before this chapter [Chapter 477], they do not incline them in this chapter [Chapter 478]’ (II, P. 284, L. 7–8). For example: *ʔalifāt* [A] s in the context of [i] are not inclined by people of Ḥigāz and *ʔalifāt* [A] s in the context of [y] are not inclined by people of Baniy Tamiym.

‘Those who do not incline the *ʔalif* [A] in the context of [i] and [y] do not incline it in the context of the feminine *hāʔ* [h]’ (II, P. 284, L. 7–8).

‘Those who say *masāgid* → *masēgid* “mosques” erect all that you inclined with the *rāʔ* [r]’ (II, P. 290, L. 16–17).

‘Those who say *hāḏā Gāribun* → *hāḏā Gēribun* “this is a boat” say *marrartu beGādirin* “I passed by Gādir” (II, P. 291, L. 10).

### 13.13 People say:

People incline due to previous inclination, as in:

*raʔaytu ʔimādā* → *raʔaytu ʔimēdē* ‘I saw Imad-d.’ (II, P. 282, L. 14)

**13.14 Unmotivated inclination**

'There are some people who speak and incline items without any of the reasons that we have previously mentioned, but that is infrequent' (II, P. 284, L. 22). For example:

*ʔalabanā zaydun* → *ʔalabanē zaydun* 'Zayd requested us' (II, P. 284, L. 22)

**13.15 Majority of the Arabs**

'Those who do not incline the *raqf* "raised with an [u]" and the *nasʔb* "erect with an [a]" are the majority of the Arabs'. (II, P. 285, L. 13–14)

**13.16 Unacceptable inclination in the context of raised letters**

'Know that no one inclines these *ʔalifāt* [A]s, in the context of the "raised" letters, except the one whose language is not acceptable' (II, P. 286, L. 9–10), as in:

*ḡāʔidun* 'seated' (II, P. 285, L. 19)

*nāḡidun* 'critic' (II, P. 286, L. 5)

*nāʔixun* 'blower' (II, P. 286, L. 8)

*manāʔiytʔ* 'combs' (II, P. 286, L. 12)

**13.17 Inclination and *rāʔ* [r]**

'Know that those who say:

*masāḡidu* → *masēḡidu* 'mosques' (II, P. 290, L. 16–17)

*ṣābid* → *ṣēbid* 'worshiper' (II, P. 290, L. 16–17)

"erect" all that you inclined with *rāʔ* [r]' (II, P. 290, L. 15–17).

**13.18 Some folks with acceptable Arabic incline with raised letters**

'Some folk, whose Arabic is acceptable, said:

*marartu biḡādirin ḡablu* → *maratu biḡēdirin ḡablu* 'I passed by Qādir before' (II, P. 291, L. 12)

*ḡārib* → *ḡērib* 'round boat' (II, P. 291, L. 13)

*ḡārim* → *ḡērim* 'harvester of dates' (II, P. 291, L. 13)

Here the speakers do not distinguish the 'raised' from the 'non-raised' letters with respect to inclination. The power of the 'raised' letter is overpowered by the following [-ri]. The [r] is a *mukarrar* 'repeated'

letter, and derives its power from being like two consecutive [-ri]s.

Still, those who say:

*marartu bikāfrin* → *marartu bikēfirin* 'I passed by an infidel' (II, P. 291, L. 17)

are more numerous than those who say:

*marartu biḡādirin* → *maratu biḡēdirin* 'I passed by Qadir' (II, P. 291, L. 17)

The frequency of one and the other implies clearly the distinction between the raised and non-raised letters. The raised letters exercise some preventive control on the occurrence of the inclination of *ʔalif* [A].

**13.19 People whose Arabic is Trustworthy**

People whose Arabic is trustworthy incline where there is no trigger for inclination. They use exceptional inclination (II, P. 285, L. 10), as in:

*hāḏā bābun* → *hāḏā bēbun* 'this (is) a door' (II, P. 285, L. 10)

*hāḏā mālun* → *hāḏā mēlun* 'this (is) wealth' (II, P. 285, L. 10)

*hāḏā ṣābun* → *hāḏā ṣēbun* 'this (is) a disgrace' (II, P. 285, L. 10)

**13.20 *ʔal-fāmmah* 'the people'**

The people do not incline when the *ṣayn* [ʃ] of the form is a *wāw* [w], except those whose first letter is with a *kasrah* [i] (II, P. 281, L. 12). For example:

*xāʔa* (*xwʔ*) → *xēʔa* 'he feared' (II, P. 281, L. 13) (see 7.10)

*xāba* (*xwb*) → *xēba* 'he failed' (II, P. 281, L. 13) (see 7.10)

But not:

*ḡāma* 'he stood up' (II, P. 281, L. 18)

*dāra* 'he turned' (II, P. 281, L. 18)

**13.21 General Attribution**

A commonly occurring reference to the general public is a saying such as: *ḡāluw* 'they said ...' (II, P. 281, L. 19), (II, P. 281, L. 19), (II, P. 282, L. 6, 8, 10), (II, P. 283, L. 2, 7, 11), among many others.

## Dialect and Language

A feature of the discussion of ʔimālah by Sībawayh is that there is variation among speakers, but the triggers for the variation are common to all speakers. There are dialectal features, even if not all of them are specified, that are distinctive and distinguish one dialect from another by the use or non-use of ʔimālah.

It appears that for the speakers of Baniy Tamiym and the eastern tribes *kasrah* [i] or *yā* [y] triggered the ʔimālah of ʔalif [A], while for some of the people of ḥigāz it was more the underlying second radicals, like *yā* [y] or *wā* [w] that were the trigger for ʔimālah. There are many contexts in which the changes are attributed to 'Arabs' without further specification. Dialects will also have grammatical idiosyncrasies, which are not discussed here. They are distinguished from each other, in as much as ʔimālah is diagnostic of dialects, and are referred to in general terms as distinct individual speech communities. But even though he treats them as distinct dialects, Sībawayh does not specify rules that are exclusive to them individually and that would be potentially inapplicable to the other dialects. It is of interest to linguists to ferret out the distinction between dialect and language that Sībawayh had in mind in his analysis.

One thing that one can gain from the sampling given above is that Sībawayh keeps referring to *ʕarabiyyah* 'Arabic', or saying that someone's *luḡah* 'language' was or was not acceptable, across dialectal boundaries. So language, or Arabic language, is not identified with any one dialect. Rather, *ʕarabiyyah* is a realization of the sum total of all the dialects. The rules and generalizations that he is fashioning are the conditions and contexts that apply to this *ʕarabiyyah*. This is no minor accomplishment when one considers the number of dialects that are referred to in the book. ʔāl-Ghunaym (1991) tabulates 284 dialects that are mentioned by Sībawayh in his book. Writing rules that will be applicable to this many dialects is a remarkable achievement, even if it were done for just one process like ʔimālah. It can usefully be argued that if a particular language, say English, with all its varieties and dialects could be defined, then language in the abstract would be closer to definition.

It is not easy to define language in a way that would satisfy every theoretician. A concept of language that is not necessarily identified with any one group of speakers, or any one dialect, but that in its definition includes all the dialects and all the speakers irrespective of their dialectal preferences, is a definition that takes the reality of language into account.

Sībawayh's concept of Arabic is of that type. It is comprehensive and inclusive of all the varieties of Arabic, so that his rules and generalizations are applicable to this language and consequently to all its varieties across dialectal lines. From his perspective, the spoken Arabic is the true manifestation of *ʕarabiyyah*. He concludes this discussion on ʔimālah by saying 'All that we have mentioned to you in these chapters about ʔimālah "inclination" and *nasʔ* "erection", we heard from the Arabs' (II, P. 294, L. 3-4).



## 14: Conclusions

What is of interest in Sībawayh's analysis of *ʔimālah* is that he does not limit it to the overt and expressed contexts for *ʔimālah* but takes into account its absent, covert and unexpressed contexts. This obviously takes phonetics and phonology beyond the traditional limits of being sensitive only to what is expressed in the context and to no other.

In his discussion and analysis of *ʔidyām* 'assimilation', Sībawayh states that *ʔal-ʔasʿlu fī ʔal-ʔidyām ʔan yatbaʿa ʔal-ʔawwalu ʔal-ʔāxara* 'the principle of assimilation is that the first follow the other' (II, P. 472, L. 17). This is his way of stating that the first becomes like the second or, more in harmony with current terminology, that assimilation is fundamentally regressive. If we were to consider *ʔimālah* 'inclination' a species of assimilation, then what applies to one is equally valid for the other. He illustrates this connection when he is discussing how *ʔimālah* 'inclination', as a process of changing [ā] to [ē] in the context of *kasrah* [i] or a *yāʔ* [y], is similar to the changing of the *siyn* [s] to a *sʿād* [sʿ] in the context of a *gāf* [G] as in:

*sabaġtu* → *sʿabaġtu* 'I preceded' (II, P. 279, L. 18)

Sībawayh, in his discussion of *ʔimālah*, focuses on the contexts that trigger *ʔimālah*. In the process of his accounting for *ʔimālah*, he provides examples of a bidirectional process, that is, of progressive and regressive *ʔimālah*, where both the following or the preceding contexts determine *ʔimālah*, even if not all of his examples can be patently grouped under these two rubrics. As the foregoing chapters illustrated, there is no great difference between progressive and regressive cases of *ʔimālah*; they apply equally freely when the expressed triggers of *kasrah* [i] and *yāʔ* [y] are present in the environment of *ʔalif* [A] as illustrated in the sample of examples:

*ʔimādun* → *ʔimēdun* 'ʔimād' (II, P. 279, L. 17)

*sirbālun* → *sirbēlun* 'shirt' (II, P. 279, L. 21)

*bayyāf* → *bayyēf* 'vendor' (II, P. 281, L. 20)

*ʕaybān* → *ʕaybēn* 'Shaybān' (II, P. 282, L. 2)

*raʔaytu ʔimādā* → *raʔaytu ʔimēdē* 'I saw Imād' (II, P. 282, L. 14) (see 7.15)

The *ʔalif* [A] is inclined in feminine forms where the *hāʔ* [h] is hidden as is illustrated in the following example (cf. 8.1):

*yuriydu ʔan yadʿ ribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yadʿ rib(ah)ē* 'He wants to hit her' (II, P. 282, L. 20)

The *ʔalif* [A] is inclined following a raised letter with a *kasrah* [i], as is illustrated in the following example:

*sʿifāb* → *sʿifēb* 'difficulties' (II, P. 287, L. 1) (see 10.5)

The *ʔalif* [A] is inclined when it follows a *kasrah* [i] after a cluster with a quiescent raised letter as is illustrated in the following example:

*ʔal-misʿbāh* → *ʔal-misʿbēh* 'the lamp' (II, P. 287, L. 8)

*raʔaytu qizhā* → *raʔaytu qizhē* 'I saw the cooking spices' (II, P. 287, L. 12)

*ʔalif zāʔidah* 'the added *ʔalif* [A]' is inclined when it follows a *kasrah* [i], as is illustrated in the following example:

*ʔimrān* → *ʔimrēn* 'ʔimrān' (II, P. 293, L. 2)

Regressive *ʔimālah* is the reverse of the progressive *ʔimālah* where the following contexts of a *kasrah* [i] or *yāʔ* [y] trigger *ʔimālah* in the preceding targeted *ʔalif* [A]:

*ʔābid* → *ʔēbid* 'worshiper' (II, P. 279, L. 11)

The *ʔalif* [A] is inclined when it precedes a *kasrah* [i] in a prepositional phrase as is illustrated in the following example:

*marartu bi-māli zaydin* → *marartu bi-mēli zaydin* 'I passed by Zayd's property' (II, P. 288, L. 5)

The *ʔalif* [A] that follows a raised letter is inclined when followed by a [ri] as is illustrated in the following example

*Gāribun* → *Gēribun* 'round boat' (II, P. 290, L. 6)

There are constraints on ʔimālah, mostly exercised by the raised letters and the *rāʔ* [r], and these show how strong an influence these segments exert on the occurrence or non-occurrence of ʔimālah. The phonetic context, its proximity and relative position with reference to the ʔalif [A], are important factors in ʔimālah. The phonetic contexts required for ʔimālah to take effect are an expressed or implied *kasrah* [i] or a *yāʔ* [y], before or after the ʔalif [A].

When two 'motions,' [a] or [u], are in ʔalif [A]'s immediate context ʔimālah will not take place, as was illustrated in:

*xātam-in* 'finger ring' (II, P. 280, L. 2)  
*ʔal-xuʔtʔāf* 'swallows' (II, P. 280, L. 5)

When one of the 'raised' letters: *sʔād* [sʔ], *dʔād* [dʔ], *tʔāʔ* [tʔ], *ḏʔāʔ* [ḏʔ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] or *xāʔ* [x] occurs before the ʔalif [A], ʔimālah does not take place, as in the following:

*ḡāʔid-un* 'seated' (II, P. 285, L. 19)

When when one of the 'raised' letters: *sʔād* [sʔ], *dʔād* [dʔ], *tʔāʔ* [tʔ], *ḏʔāʔ* [ḏʔ], *ḡayn* [ḡ], *ḡāf* [ḡ] or *xāʔ* [x] follows the ʔalif [A] in sequence ʔimālah is blocked, as in the following:

*nāḡid-un* 'critic' (II, P. 286, L. 5)  
*nāḡix-un* 'blower' (II, P. 286, L. 85)

When the *rāʔ* [r] is set in motion by an [a] or an [u] ʔimālah is blocked, as in the following:

*hāḏā rāʔid-un* 'This (is) Rāshid' (II, P. 289, L. 20)

When a 'raised' letter precedes the ʔalif [A] and a [-ri] follows the ʔalif [A], the following [-ri] overcomes the strength of the preceding 'raised' letter, and ʔimālah takes place as is shown in the following:

*ḡāribun* → *ḡēribun* 'round boat' (II, P. 290, L. 7)

When a 'raised' letter follows a [-ri] after an ʔalif [A], the 'raised' letter overpowers the [-ri], and prevents ʔimālah from taking place, as in the following:

*hāḏīhi nāḡatun fāriḡun* 'This (is) a distinctive f.-camel' (II, P. 290, L. 10)

A 'raised' letter prevents ʔimālah of a previous ʔalif [A], even across a word boundary as in the following example:

*marartu bi-māli ḡāsimin* 'I passed by the property of Qāsim' (II, P. 291, L. 19)

Progressive and regressive ʔimālah can not explain all the cases that do occur with ʔimālah. In this analysis, not all cases are phonetically conditioned. To give but two illustrations, the feminine ending does not resemble either [i] or [y], yet it is subject to ʔimālah, with the other concomitant changes in the word, as in the following:

*miʔzā* → *miʔzē* 'goat' (II, P. 281, L. 6)  
*ḡublā* → *ḡublē* 'pregnant' (II, P. 281, L. 6)

Other cases of ʔalif [A] are inclined due simply to the high frequency of occurrence of certain lexical items, as in the following:

*ʔal-ḡaggāḡ* → *ʔal-ḡaggēḡ* 'ʔal-ḡaggāḡ' (II, P. 285, L. 5)  
*ʔal-nās* → *ʔal-nēs* 'the people' (II, P. 285, L. 7)

In ʔimālah, both what precedes the ʔalif [A] and what follows it as well as what the ʔalif [A] stands for have an effect on its status. The contexts that follow ʔalif [A] are the actual control mechanisms and exercise more powerful contextual influences on the ʔalif [A] than those that precede it. The 'raised' letters, for example, prevent ʔimālah from taking place, but they are effective in the preceding contexts only if they are contiguous to it, and no other trigger interferes with them as in the following:

*ḡāʔidu* 'seated' (II, P. 285, L. 19)

When the preceding 'raised' letters are not contiguous to the ʔalif [A], the preceding contexts are all equalized, as in the following example:

*sʔifāf* → *sʔifēf* 'descriptives' (II, P. 287, L. 1)

The contexts that follow the ʔalif [A], however, show distinctly different degrees of strength in controlling the occurrence or non-occurrence of ʔimālah as illustrated in the cases where an ʔalif [A] is followed by a 'raised' letter or a [-ri]. Whenever there is a conflict in contextual triggers, the 'raised' letters dominate the contexts of [-ri]

and overpower them when both follow the *ʔalif* [A]. Other things being equal, regressive *ʔimālah* is the more dominant form of assimilation, and it extends over longer domains, while progressive *ʔimālah* is confined to the immediate contexts within narrower domains.

Many surface *ʔalifāt* [A]s are not constituents of the root but are derived. Examples of these are the roots with weak radicals where the weak letter is deleted and the surface form appears with an *ʔalif* [A], for example *xāfa* 'he feared' is from *\*xawifa*, or *hāba* 'he revered' is from *\*hayaba*, and so on, with all the other roots with a [w] or a [y] as the second radical. These *ʔalifāt* [A]s have been explained by way of a derivation, that is, when the glides *yāʔ* [y] and *wāw* [w] are elided and the two remaining motions are combined to give the [ā] as explained in Brame (1970). This is not the explanation of Sībawayh. He considers the presence of an *ʔalif* [A] as a replacement of the glide (II, P. 280, L. 7 and 9). The *ḥarakāt* 'motions' left behind would be present only when their respective letters are present and would delete with them. It is assumed that *ʔimālah* occurs here due to the virtual presence of a *kasrah* [i] or a *yāʔ* [y] of the root, but it is not clear whether the change in the *ʔalif* [A] should be considered a progressive or a regressive type of *ʔimālah*. In these forms, the actual *ʔalif* [A] inclines towards the letters *yāʔ* [y] and the changed *wāw* [w] to a *yāʔ* [y] of the mid-radical, as exemplified in the following:

|                             |   |             |                                  |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>māta</i> ( <i>mwt</i> )  | → | <i>mēta</i> | 'he died' (II, P. 281, L. 10)    |
| <i>xāfa</i> ( <i>xwf</i> )  | → | <i>xēfa</i> | 'he feared' (II, P. 281, L. 13)  |
| <i>tāba</i> ( <i>tʿyb</i> ) | → | <i>tēba</i> | 'he enjoyed' (II, P. 281, L. 13) |
| <i>hāba</i> ( <i>hyb</i> )  | → | <i>hēba</i> | 'he revered' (II, P. 281, L. 13) |
| <i>sāra</i> ( <i>sʿyr</i> ) | → | <i>sēra</i> | 'he became' (II, P. 281, L. 14)  |
| <i>xaba</i> ( <i>xyb</i> )  | → | <i>xēba</i> | 'he failed' (II, P. 281, L. 19)  |

In discussing the reasons for *ʔimālah*, Sībawayh provides what he considers to be an articulatory justification, 'The *ʔalif* [A] is similar to *yāʔ* [y] so they approximated it to it.' (II, P. 280, L. 13–14 et passim). It is the actual presence of [i] or [y] that triggers changes in the adjacent *ʔalif* [A]s, as was illustrated above. The more subtle changes in the *ʔalifāt* [A]s are due not so much to the actual presence of an *ʔalif* [A] in the sequence, but what the origin of the *ʔalif* [A] was. When the *ʔalif* [A] is in place of a *yāʔ* [y] or a *wāw* [w] 'in structures with a *yāʔ* [y] and *wāw* [w] whose *ʕayn* [ʕ] is open' (II, P. 280, L. 6), these two letters are represented by surface *ʔalif* [A]s.

'As to the structure with a *yāʔ* [y], its *ʔalif* [A] is inclined because it is in place of *yāʔ* [y], and its substitute' (Ch. 477, p. 260). It should be pointed out that 'the *wāw* [w] is inclined towards the *yāʔ* [y] in structures that exceed three letters. It is changed to a *yāʔ* [y]', as in the following examples:

|                                    |                                         |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>maʕdiyyun</i> ( <i>mʕdw</i> )   | 'running' (II, P. 280, L. 13) (see 7.6) |
| <i>masniyyun</i> ( <i>msnw</i> )   | 'watering' (II, P. 280, L. 13)          |
| <i>ʔal-Gunniyy</i> ( <i>Gnw</i> )  | 'the canals' (II, P. 280, L. 13)        |
| <i>ʔal-ʕisʕiyy</i> ( <i>ʕsʕw</i> ) | 'the sticks' (II, P. 280, L. 13)        |

A more remote trigger is in the *ʔalif* [A] of the past tense that changes to an [ē] in forms where the third person is on the pattern [*xāfa*] while the first person is [*xiftu*], this *kasrah* [i] triggers the inclination, as in the following examples:

|                            |   |             |                                 |
|----------------------------|---|-------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>xāfa</i> ( <i>xwf</i> ) | → | <i>xēfa</i> | 'he feared' (II, P. 281, L. 13) |
| <i>māta</i> ( <i>mwt</i> ) | → | <i>mēta</i> | 'he died' (II, P. 281, L. 19)   |

Any root that has a *yāʔ* [y] as a second radical, its *ʔalif* [A] is inclined obligatorily, as in the following:

|                               |   |              |                                   |
|-------------------------------|---|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>māla</i> ( <i>myl</i> )    | → | <i>mēla</i>  | 'he inclined' (II, P. 287, L. 15) |
| <i>bāʕa</i> ( <i>byʕ</i> )    | → | <i>bēʕa</i>  | 'he sold' (II, P. 287, L. 15)     |
| <i>ḥublā</i> ( <i>ḥbly</i> )  | → | <i>ḥublē</i> | 'pregnant' (II, P. 287, L. 18)    |
| <i>muʕtā</i> ( <i>mʕtʿy</i> ) | → | <i>muʕtē</i> | 'gift' (II, P. 287, L. 18)        |
| <i>saqā</i> ( <i>sqy</i> )    | → | <i>saqē</i>  | 'watered' (II, P. 287, L. 19)     |

In brief, Sībawayh ranges in his analysis of *ʔimālah* over the various contexts where the [ā] is inclined to [ē] and ferrets out both the expressed and the implied contexts where justification can be found for such a change. In the process he is both deep and wide in his search and brings in not only immediate contexts but collateral contexts to explain the phenomenon of *ʔimālah*.

The obvious contexts in which *ʔimālah* takes place fall within the purview of all linguistic approaches to analysis of such a phenomenon. With reference to the expressed triggers for *ʔimālah* there is no noticeable difference between the progressive and the regressive *ʔimālah*. They both occur equally freely; there is no strong preference to regressive over the progressive processes. There are constraints due to certain groups of letters, the raised letters and the [r], or both. What is intriguing

about ʔimālah in classical Arabic as Sībawayh presents it is that it makes demands that go beyond the obvious evidence for the justification of its occurrence, that is, where there is nothing in the expressed context to cause the [ā] to change into [ē]. What would be the phonetic/phonological rationale for the ʔalif [A] in *māta* ‘he died’ to change to *mēta* with no expressed or obvious contextual trigger in the immediate or remote context for it to take place? When Sībawayh says that the change is justified because in the *faʔaltu* form, that is, the past tense of the first person singular of *māta* ‘he died’, there is a *kasrah* [i] when one says *mittu* ‘I died’, this is beyond the consideration of phonetics/phonology and is similar to a Saussuran idea of associative relationships or to a Mendelian meandering through the genetic branches in search of a recessive context that has become dominant. If Sībawayh’s claim is correct, and there is no alternative explanation that is better, then the deep structure is even deeper and wider in Arabic. It scours the total paradigm, as with the case of *māta* ‘he died’, in search of relevant contexts.

## Appendices

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## Appendix 1

### List of Technical Terms, Sorted by Arabic

|            |                        |                                 |
|------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| أكثر       | <i>ʔakθar</i>          | more frequent, more numerous    |
| أخف        | <i>ʔaxaff</i>          | lighter, weaker                 |
| أخوات      | <i>ʔaxawāt</i>         | sisters, members of a class     |
| إدغام      | <i>ʔidyām</i>          | assimilation                    |
| إستعلاء    | <i>ʔistiʕlāʔ</i>       | raising                         |
| أسماء      | <i>ʔasmāʔ</i>          | names/nouns                     |
| إصعاد      | <i>ʔisʕād</i>          | raising, ascending              |
| إيضاح      | <i>ʔiydʕāh</i>         | clarity                         |
| أضعف       | <i>ʔadʕaf</i>          | weaker                          |
| إضممار     | <i>ʔidʕmār</i>         | implicitness, pronominalization |
| إطباق      | <i>ʔitʕbāḡ</i>         | covering                        |
| أفعال      | <i>ʔaffāl</i>          | actions                         |
| ألف        | <i>ʔalif</i>           | ʔalif [ā]                       |
| إمالة      | <i>ʔimālah</i>         | inclination                     |
| إنحدار     | <i>ʔinhidār</i>        | descending, sliding down        |
| بدل        | <i>badal</i>           | substitute                      |
| بنات       | <i>banāt</i>           | structures                      |
| تأنيث      | <i>taʔniyθ</i>         | femininization                  |
| تسفل       | <i>tasafful</i>        | lowering                        |
| تشبه       | <i>tušbihu</i>         | resembles                       |
| ئمال       | <i>tumālu</i>          | be inclined                     |
| تمنع       | <i>tamnaʕ</i>          | prevents, it                    |
| تتكسر      | <i>tankasiru</i>       | breaks                          |
| جر         | <i>garr</i>            | pull, mark with an [i]          |
| حاجز       | <i>ḥāgiz</i>           | barrier                         |
| حرف        | <i>ḥarf</i>            | letter, word                    |
| حركات      | <i>ḥarakāt</i>         | motions                         |
| حركة       | <i>ḥarakah</i>         | motion                          |
| حروف       | <i>ḥuruwf</i>          | letters, words                  |
| حنك الاعلى | <i>ḥanak ʔal-ʔaʕlā</i> | upper palate                    |

|       |            |                                                 |
|-------|------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| حواجز | ḥawāgiz    | barriers                                        |
| خفية  | xafīyyah   | hidden, inconspicuous                           |
| خلط   | xallatʿa   | he mixed                                        |
| رخو   | raxw       | loose                                           |
| رفع   | raff       | raise                                           |
| رَفَع | rafaʿa     | he raised                                       |
| ساكن  | sākin      | still, quiescent                                |
| سكت   | sakt       | silence                                         |
| سكوت  | sukuwt     | silence                                         |
| سكون  | sukuwn     | stillness, quiescence                           |
| سواكن | sawākin    | still letters                                   |
| شاذ   | šāḍ        | exceptional                                     |
| شبه   | šabah      | similarity                                      |
| شديد  | šadiyd     | tight                                           |
| شواذ  | šawāḍ      | exceptions                                      |
| صعد   | sʿaṣṣada   | raised                                          |
| صلة   | sʿilah     | annexation                                      |
| ضعفت  | dʿaṣufat   | weakened                                        |
| ضمة   | dʿammah    | close [u]                                       |
| عرب   | ʿarab      | Arabs, speakers of Arabic                       |
| عربية | ʿarabiyyah | Arabic (language)                               |
| علة   | ʿillah     | cause, reason                                   |
| غنة   | ḡunnah     | nasal                                           |
| فتح   | fath       | opening with an [a]                             |
| فتحة  | fathah     | open [a]                                        |
| فعل   | fiʿl       | action                                          |
| قرب   | garrah     | he approximated                                 |
| قلب   | galb       | change                                          |
| قياس  | ḡiyās      | pattern, norm, analogy                          |
| كسرة  | kasrah     | break [i]                                       |
| كلمة  | kalimah    | word                                            |
| لسان  | lisān      | tongue                                          |
| لغة   | luḡah      | dialect, language                               |
| لين   | liyn       | softness                                        |
| لين   | layyin     | soft                                            |
| مؤنث  | muʾannaθ   | feminine                                        |
| مبدلة | mubdalah   | substituted                                     |
| مبهم  | mubham     | unspecified                                     |
| متحرك | mutaḥarrik | in-motion, in motion with an [a],<br>[i] or [u] |

|           |                |                              |
|-----------|----------------|------------------------------|
| متصل      | muttasʿil      | connected                    |
| مجرور     | magruwr        | pulled with an [i]           |
| مجهور     | maghuwr        | loud                         |
| مذكر      | mudakkar       | masculine                    |
| مرفوع     | marfuwʿ        | raised, raised with a [u]    |
| مستحسن    | mustaḥsan      | favored, thought good        |
| مستعلي    | mustaʿliy      | raised                       |
| مستعلية   | mustaʿliyah    | raised, raised ones          |
| مضاعفة    | muḍʿāṣafah     | doubling                     |
| مضاف      | muḍʿāf         | annexed                      |
| مضاف اليه | muḍʿāf ʔilayhi | annexed to                   |
| مضموم     | maḍʿmuwm       | closed, close with an [u]    |
| مطبق      | mutʿbaq        | covered                      |
| معجم      | muṣgam         | dictionary                   |
| مفتوح     | maftuwḥ        | open, open with an [a]       |
| مكرر      | mukarrar       | doubled, trilled             |
| مكسور     | maksuwr        | broken, broken with a [i]    |
| منحرف     | munḥarif       | deviant, lateral             |
| منزلة     | manzilah       | status                       |
| منصوب     | mansʿuwb       | erected, erected with an [a] |
| منعت      | manaʿat        | prevented, it/she            |
| منفتح     | munfatih       | opened                       |
| منفصل     | munfasʿil      | unconnected                  |
| مهموس     | mahmuws        | muted                        |
| موضع      | mawḍiʿ         | position                     |
| نصب       | nasʿb          | erection with an [a]         |
| نَصَبَ    | nasʿaba        | he erected                   |
| هاو       | hāwi           | falling                      |
| واو       | wāw            | wāw [w]                      |
| وزن       | wazn           | measure                      |
| وصل       | wasʿal         | connected                    |
| وقف       | wagf           | pause                        |
| يؤخذ به   | yuʾxaḍu bihi   | is taken as correct          |
| ياء       | yāʾ            | yāʾ [y]                      |
| يرفع      | yarfaʿ         | he raises                    |
| يشم       | yušimmu        | he rounds                    |
| يُقرب     | yuḡarrib       | he approximates              |
| يلفظ به   | yulfaḍʿu bihi  | is pronounced                |
| يميل      | yamiylu        | he inclines                  |

## Appendix 2

### List of Technical Terms, Sorted by English

|                            |           |                |
|----------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| ʔalif [ā]                  | ألف       | ʔalif          |
| action                     | فعل       | fiʕl           |
| actions                    | أفعال     | ʔafʕāl         |
| annexed                    | مضاف      | muḏʔāf         |
| annexed to                 | مضاف اليه | muḏʔāf ʔilayhi |
| annexation                 | صلة       | sʕilah         |
| Arabic (language)          | عربية     | ʕarabiyyah     |
| Arabs, speakers of Arabic  | عرب       | ʕarab          |
| assimilation               | إدغام     | ʔidyām         |
| barrier                    | حاجز      | ḥāgiz          |
| barriers                   | حواجز     | ḥawāgiz        |
| be inclined                | ئمال      | tumālu         |
| break [i]                  | كسرة      | kasrah         |
| breaks                     | تتكسر     | tankasiru      |
| broken, broken with an [i] | مكسور     | maksuwr        |
| cause, reason              | علة       | ʕillah         |
| change                     | قلب       | Galb           |
| clarity                    | إيضاح     | ʔiyḏʔāḥ        |
| close [u]                  | ضمة       | ḏʔammah        |
| closed, close with a [u]   | مضموم     | maḏʔ muwm      |
| connected                  | متصل      | muttasʕil      |
| connected                  | وصل       | wasʕal         |
| covered                    | مطبق      | muḏʔ baḡ       |
| covering                   | إطباق     | ʔiḏʔ bāḡ       |
| descending, sliding down   | إنحدار    | ʔinḥidār       |
| deviant, lateral           | منحرف     | munḥarif       |
| dialect, language          | لغة       | luyah          |
| dictionary                 | معجم      | muʕgam         |
| doubled, trilled           | مكرر      | mukarrar       |
| doubling                   | مضاعفة    | muḏʔ āʕafah    |

|                                 |         |               |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------------|
| erected, erected with an [a]    | منصوب   | mansʕuwb      |
| erection with an [a]            | نصب     | nasʕb         |
| exceptional                     | شاذ     | šāḏ           |
| exceptions                      | شواذ    | šawāḏ         |
| falling                         | هاو     | hāwi          |
| favored, thought good           | مستحسن  | mustaḥsan     |
| feminine                        | مؤنث    | muʔannaθ      |
| femininization                  | تأنيث   | taʔniyθ       |
| he approximated                 | قرب     | Garrah        |
| he approximates                 | يُقرّب  | yuGarrib      |
| he erected                      | نَصَبَ  | nasʕaba       |
| he inclines                     | يميل    | yamiylu       |
| he mixed                        | خلط     | xallatʕa      |
| he raised                       | رَفَعَ  | rafaʕa        |
| he raises                       | يرفع    | yarfaʕ        |
| he rounds                       | يشم     | yušimmu       |
| hidden, inconspicuous           | خفية    | xafiyyah      |
| implicitness, pronominalization | إضممار  | ʔiḏʔ mār      |
| inclination                     | إمالة   | ʔimālah       |
| in-motion, in motion            | متحرك   | mutaḥarrrik   |
| with an [a], [i] or a [u]       |         |               |
| is pronounced                   | يلفظ به | yulfaḏʕu bihi |
| is taken as correct             | يؤخذ به | yuʔxaḏu bihi  |
| letter, word                    | حرف     | ḥarf          |
| letters, words                  | حروف    | ḥuruwf        |
| lighter, weaker                 | اخف     | ʔaxaff        |
| loose                           | رخو     | raxw          |
| loud                            | مجهور   | maghuwr       |
| lowering                        | تسفل    | tasafful      |
| masculine                       | مذكر    | muḏakkar      |
| measure                         | وزن     | wazn          |
| more frequent, more numerous    | أكثر    | ʔakḏar        |
| motion                          | حركة    | ḥarakah       |
| motions                         | حركات   | ḥarakāt       |
| muted                           | مهموس   | mahmuws       |
| names/nouns                     | أسماء   | ʔasmāʔ        |
| nasal                           | غنة     | yunnah        |
| open [a]                        | فتحة    | fathah        |
| open, open with an [a]          | مفتوح   | maftuwh       |



|                             |            |                        |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| opened                      | منفتح      | <i>munfatih</i>        |
| opening with an [a]         | فتح        | <i>fath</i>            |
| pattern, norm, analogy      | قياس       | <i>ḡiyās</i>           |
| pause                       | وقف        | <i>waḡf</i>            |
| position                    | موضع       | <i>mawḡiṣ</i>          |
| prevented, it/she           | منعت       | <i>manaṣat</i>         |
| prevents, it                | تمنع       | <i>tannaṣ</i>          |
| pull, mark with an [i]      | جرّ        | <i>garr</i>            |
| pulled with an [i]          | مجرور      | <i>magruwr</i>         |
| raise                       | رفع        | <i>raff</i>            |
| raised                      | مستعلي     | <i>mustaṣliṣ</i>       |
| raised                      | صعد        | <i>sʿaṣṣada</i>        |
| raised, raised ones         | مستعلية    | <i>mustaṣliyah</i>     |
| raised, raised with a [u]   | مرفوع      | <i>marfuwṣ</i>         |
| raising                     | إستعلاء    | <i>ʔistiṣlāʔ</i>       |
| raising, ascending          | إصعاد      | <i>ʔisʿṣād</i>         |
| resembles                   | تشبه       | <i>tuṣbiḡu</i>         |
| silence                     | سكت        | <i>sakt</i>            |
| silence                     | سكوت       | <i>sukuwt</i>          |
| similarity                  | شبه        | <i>ṣabah</i>           |
| sisters, members of a class | أخوات      | <i>ʔaxawāt</i>         |
| soft                        | لين        | <i>layyin</i>          |
| softness                    | لين        | <i>liyn</i>            |
| status                      | منزلة      | <i>manzilah</i>        |
| still letters               | سواكن      | <i>sawākin</i>         |
| still, quiescent            | ساكن       | <i>sākin</i>           |
| stillness, quiescence       | سكون       | <i>sukuwn</i>          |
| structures                  | بنات       | <i>banāt</i>           |
| substitute                  | بدل        | <i>badal</i>           |
| substituted                 | مبدلة      | <i>mubdalah</i>        |
| tight                       | شديد       | <i>ṣadiyd</i>          |
| tongue                      | لسان       | <i>lisān</i>           |
| unconnected                 | منفصل      | <i>munfasʿil</i>       |
| unspecified                 | مبهم       | <i>mubham</i>          |
| upper palate                | حنك الاعلى | <i>ḡanak ʔal-ʔaṣlā</i> |
| wāw [w]                     | واو        | <i>wāw</i>             |
| weakened                    | ضعفت       | <i>ḡaṣufat</i>         |
| weaker                      | أضعف       | <i>ʔaḡṣaf</i>          |
| word                        | كلمة       | <i>kalimah</i>         |
| yāʔ [y]                     | ياء        | <i>yāʔ</i>             |

## Appendix 3

## List of Technical Terms, Sorted by Transcription

|                        |            |                              |
|------------------------|------------|------------------------------|
| <i>badal</i>           | بدل        | substitute                   |
| <i>banāt</i>           | بنات       | structures                   |
| <i>ḡammah</i>          | ضمة        | close [u]                    |
| <i>ḡaṣufat</i>         | ضعفت       | weakened                     |
| <i>fath</i>            | فتح        | opening with an [a]          |
| <i>fathah</i>          | فتحة       | open [a]                     |
| <i>fiṣl</i>            | فعل        | action                       |
| <i>garr</i>            | جرّ        | pull, mark with an [i]       |
| <i>ḡanak ʔal-ʔaṣlā</i> | حنك الاعلى | upper palate                 |
| <i>ḡawāḡiz</i>         | حواجز      | barriers                     |
| <i>ḡāwi</i>            | هاو        | falling                      |
| <i>kalimah</i>         | كلمة       | word                         |
| <i>kasrah</i>          | كسرة       | break [i]                    |
| <i>layyin</i>          | لين        | soft                         |
| <i>lisān</i>           | لسان       | tongue                       |
| <i>liyn</i>            | لين        | softness                     |
| <i>luṣyah</i>          | لغة        | dialect, language            |
| <i>maḡmuwm</i>         | مضموم      | closed, close with a [u]     |
| <i>maṣtuwḡh</i>        | مفتوح      | open, open with an [a]       |
| <i>maghuwr</i>         | مجهور      | loud                         |
| <i>magruwr</i>         | مجرور      | pulled with an [i]           |
| <i>mahmuws</i>         | مهموس      | muted                        |
| <i>maksuwr</i>         | مكسور      | broken, broken with an [i]   |
| <i>manaṣat</i>         | منعت       | prevented, it/she            |
| <i>mansʿuwb</i>        | منصوب      | erected, erected with an [a] |
| <i>manzilah</i>        | منزلة      | status                       |
| <i>marfuwṣ</i>         | مرفوع      | raised, raised with a [u]    |
| <i>mawḡiṣ</i>          | موضع       | position                     |
| <i>mubdalah</i>        | مبدلة      | substituted                  |
| <i>mubham</i>          | مبهم       | unspecified                  |



|                       |           |                           |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| <i>mudʿāṣafah</i>     | مضاعفة    | doubling                  |
| <i>mudʿāf</i>         | مضاف      | annexed                   |
| <i>mudʿāf ʔilayhi</i> | مضاف اليه | annexed to                |
| <i>mukarrar</i>       | مكرر      | doubled, trilled          |
| <i>munfasʿil</i>      | منفصل     | unconnected               |
| <i>munfatih</i>       | منفتح     | opened                    |
| <i>munḥarif</i>       | منحرف     | deviant, lateral          |
| <i>mustahsan</i>      | مستحسن    | favored, thought good     |
| <i>mustaʿliy</i>      | مستعلي    | raised                    |
| <i>mustaʿliyah</i>    | مستعلية   | raised, raised ones       |
| <i>mutaḥarrik</i>     | متحرك     | in-motion, in motion      |
|                       |           | with an [a], [i] or a [u] |
| <i>muttasʿil</i>      | متصل      | connected                 |
| <i>mutʿbaḡ</i>        | مطبق      | covered                   |
| <i>mudakkar</i>       | مذكر      | masculine                 |
| <i>muʿannaθ</i>       | مؤنث      | feminine                  |
| <i>muṣgam</i>         | معجم      | dictionary                |
| <i>nasʿb</i>          | نصب       | erection with an [a]      |
| <i>nasʿaba</i>        | نصب       | he erected                |
| <i>rafafa</i>         | رفع       | he raised                 |
| <i>raff</i>           | رفع       | raise                     |
| <i>raxw</i>           | رخو       | loose                     |
| <i>šabah</i>          | شبه       | similarity                |
| <i>šadiyd</i>         | شديد      | tight                     |
| <i>sakt</i>           | سكت       | silence                   |
| <i>šawāḍ</i>          | شواذ      | exceptions                |
| <i>sawākin</i>        | سواكن     | still letters             |
| <i>sukuwn</i>         | سكون      | stillness, quiescence     |
| <i>sukuwt</i>         | سكوت      | silence                   |
| <i>sākin</i>          | ساكن      | still, quiescent          |
| <i>šāḍ</i>            | شاذ       | exceptional               |
| <i>sʿaṣṣada</i>       | صعد       | raised                    |
| <i>sʿilah</i>         | صلة       | annexation                |
| <i>tamnaʿ</i>         | تمنع      | prevents, it              |
| <i>tankasiru</i>      | تنكسر     | breaks                    |
| <i>tasafful</i>       | تسقل      | lowering                  |
| <i>taʿniyθ</i>        | تانيث     | femininization            |
| <i>tumālu</i>         | ثمال      | be inclined               |
| <i>tušbiḥu</i>        | تشبه      | resembles                 |

|                      |         |                                 |
|----------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| <i>wasʿal</i>        | وصل     | connected                       |
| <i>wāw</i>           | واو     | wāw [w]                         |
| <i>wazn</i>          | وزن     | measure                         |
| <i>waḡf</i>          | وقف     | pause                           |
| <i>xafiyyah</i>      | خفية    | hidden, inconspicuous           |
| <i>xallatʿa</i>      | خلط     | he mixed                        |
| <i>yāʿ</i>           | ياء     | yāʿ [y]                         |
| <i>yamiylu</i>       | يميل    | he inclines                     |
| <i>yarfaʿ</i>        | يرفع    | he raises                       |
| <i>yuʿxaḍu bihi</i>  | يؤخذ به | is taken as correct             |
| <i>yulfaḍʿu bihi</i> | يلفظ به | is pronounced                   |
| <i>yušimmu</i>       | يشم     | he rounds                       |
| <i>yuḡarrib</i>      | يُقرّب  | he approximates                 |
| <i>ḡunnah</i>        | غنة     | nasal                           |
| <i>ḡalb</i>          | قلب     | change                          |
| <i>ḡarrab</i>        | قرب     | he approximated                 |
| <i>ḡiyās</i>         | قياس    | pattern, norm, analogy          |
| <i>ḡarakah</i>       | حركة    | motion                          |
| <i>ḡarakāt</i>       | حركات   | motions                         |
| <i>ḡarf</i>          | حرف     | letter, word                    |
| <i>ḡuruwf</i>        | حروف    | letters, words                  |
| <i>ḡāḡiz</i>         | حاجز    | barrier                         |
| <i>ʔaṣʿāl</i>        | أفعال   | actions                         |
| <i>ʔaḍʿaṣaf</i>      | أضعف    | weaker                          |
| <i>ʔakḡar</i>        | أكثر    | more frequent, more numerous    |
| <i>ʔalif</i>         | ألف     | ʔalif [ā]                       |
| <i>ʔasmāʿ</i>        | أسماء   | names/nouns                     |
| <i>ʔaxaff</i>        | أخف     | lighter, weaker                 |
| <i>ʔaxawāt</i>       | أخوات   | sisters, members of a class     |
| <i>ʔidyām</i>        | إدغام   | assimilation                    |
| <i>ʔiydʿāḡ</i>       | إيضاح   | clarity                         |
| <i>ʔidʿmār</i>       | إضمار   | implicitness, pronominalization |
| <i>ʔimālah</i>       | إمالة   | inclination                     |
| <i>ʔinḡidār</i>      | إنحدار  | descending, sliding down        |
| <i>ʔistiʿlāʿ</i>     | إستعلاء | raising                         |
| <i>ʔisʿāḍ</i>        | إصعاد   | raising, ascending              |
| <i>ʔitʿbāḡ</i>       | إطباق   | covering                        |
| <i>ʿarab</i>         | عرب     | Arabs, speakers of Arabic       |
| <i>ʿarabiyyah</i>    | عربية   | Arabic (language)               |
| <i>ʿillah</i>        | علة     | cause, reason                   |

## Appendix 4

## List of Examples

- b(ih)ā* → *b(ih)ē* ‘in her’ (II, P. 283, L. 4) #8.3  
*bayni wa baynahā* → *bayni wa baynahē* ‘between me and her’ (II, P. 284, L. 21) #8.11  
*bayni wa baynahā mālun* ‘there is property between her and me’ (II, P. 284, L. 21) #8.11  
*bayniy wa baynahā* → *bayniy wa bayn(ah)ē* ‘between me and her’ (II, P. 283, L. 11) #8.7  
*bayyāf* → *bayyēf* ‘vendor’ (II, P. 281, L. 20) #7.12  
*bihā* → *bihē* ‘in her’ (II, P. 283, L. 2) #8.3  
*bi-māli Gāsimin* ‘in the wealth of Qāsim’ (II, P. 292, L. 15) #11.14  
*bi-māli rāšidin* ‘in the wealth of Rāšid’ (II, P. 292, L. 15) #11.14  
*bi-māli rāšidin* → *bi-mēli rāšidin* ‘with the money of Rāšid’ (II, P. 292, L. 15) #11.13  
*bi-māli Gāsimin* → *bi-mēli Gāsimin* ‘with the property of Qāsim’ (II, P. 288, L. 17) #10.15  
*bi-māli Gāsimin* ‘with the money of Qāsim’ (II, P. 292, L. 15) #11.13  
*bi-māli Gāsimin* → *bi-mēli Gāsimin* ‘by the property of Qāsim’ (II, P. 288, L. 6) #10.13  
*binā* → *binē* ‘in us’ (II, P. 284, L. 16) #8.11  
*bi-safāri Gablu* ‘by Safar before’ (II, P. 291, L. 23) #11.9  
*bi-gādirin* ‘in Qādir’ (II, P. 291, L. 10) #11.7  
*bi-ḥimār* → *bi-ḥimēr* ‘by an ass’ (II, P. 292, L. 11) #11.11  
*bā* → *bē* ‘b’ (II, P. 289, L. 13) #10.18  
*bāḥa* (byḥ) → *bēḥa* ‘he sold’ (II, P. 287, L. 15) #10.10  
*damahā* ‘her blood’ (II, P. 283, L. 13) #8.6  
*dirhamān* → *dirhamēn* ‘two dirhams’ (II, P. 282, L. 8) #7.14  
*ḍā firāṣun* → *firēṣun* ‘that is a bed’ (II, P. 293, L. 4) #11.16  
*ḍā* → *ḍē* ‘this’ (II, P. 289, L. 11) #10.18  
*dārā* → *durtu* ‘he turned, I turned’ (II, P. 281, L. 18) #7.11  
*dāḥin* → *dēḥin* ‘caller’ (II, P. 282, L. 10) #7.13  
*dāyā* (dāyy) → *dāyē* ‘cheated-d’ (II, P. 287, L. 20) #10.11

- dāyā* ‘straits’ (II, P. 292, L. 17) #11.15  
*ḍālimun* ‘oppressor’ (II, P. 285, L. 20) #10.1  
*dāminun* ‘guarantor’ (II, P. 285, L. 20) #10.1  
*dārib* → *dērib* ‘hitter’ (II, P. 293, L. 11) #12.2  
*fiy mahārā* → *fiy mahērā* ‘in fleet of camels’ (II, P. 292, L. 14) #11.11  
*fiy ḥal-gādayn* → *fiy ḥal-gēdayn* ‘in your sword-belts-d’ (II, P. 282, L. 9) #7.13  
*fiynā* → *fiynē* ‘in us’ (II, P. 283, L. 11) #8.7  
*gamādin* ‘inanimate’ (II, P. 280, L. 4) #7.5  
*gawāddun* ‘these (are the) main streets’ (II, P. 287, L. 22) #10.12  
*gilbābun* → *gilbēbun* ‘garment’ (II, P. 293, L. 3) #11.16  
*gārimi Gāsimin* → *gērimi Gāsimin* ‘Qāsim’s offence’ (II, P. 291, L. 22) #11.9  
*gārimun* → *gērimun* ‘a harvester’ (II, P. 291, L. 13) #11.8  
*hāḍā mārigun* ‘This is an apostate’ (II, P. 294, L. 5) #12.7  
*hiyā ḥal-manābir* → *hiyā ḥal-manēbir* ‘they are the pulpits’ (II, P. 290, L. 18) #11.6  
*huwa yakiyluhā* ‘he weighs her’ (II, P. 283, L. 7) #8.5  
*huwa findanā* ‘he is with us’ (II, P. 283, L. 18) #8.8  
*hāba* (hyb) → *hēba* ‘he revered’ (II, P. 281, L. 13) #7.10  
*hābiylu* → *hēbiylu* ‘Abel’ (II, P. 279, L. 11) #7.1  
*hāḍa xabafu riyāhin* → *hāḍa xabafē riyāhin* ‘this (is) a swirl of wind’ (II, P. 293, L. 18) #12.4  
*hāḍihi danāniyr* → *danēniyr* ‘these are dinars’ (II, P. 292, L. 8)  
*hāḍihi nāgātun fārigun* ‘this (is) a distinctive f.-camel’ (II, P. 290, L. 10) #11.5  
*hāḍihi s’afāriyru* → *hāḍihi s’afēriyru* ‘these are eaves’ (II, P. 292, L. 5) #11.10  
*hāḍihi ḥaynugun mafāriygu* ‘these (are) distinctive f.-camels’ (II, P. 290, L. 10) #11.5  
*hāḍā bābun* ‘this (is) a door’ (II, P. 285, L. 10–13) #9.4  
*hāḍā bābun* → *hāḍā bēbun* ‘this (is) a door’ (II, P. 285, L. 10) #9.4  
*hāḍā dāḥ* ‘this is a suppliant’ (II, P. 292, L. 10) #11.11  
*hāḍā firāṣun* ‘This (is) a bed’ (II, P. 289, L. 20) #11.1  
*hāḍā girābun* → *girēbun* ‘this is a bag’ (II, P. 293, L. 4) #11.16  
*hāḍā gāddun* ‘this (is) serious’ (II, P. 287, L. 22) #10.12  
*hāḍā māddun* ‘this (is the) substance’ (II, P. 287, L. 22) #10.12  
*hāḍā mālun* ‘this (is) property’ (II, P. 285, L. 10–13) #9.4  
*hāḍā mālun* → *hāḍā mēlun* ‘this (is) property/wealth’ (II, P. 285, L. 10) #9.4

*hāḏā rāšidun* ‘This (is) Rāshid’ (II, P. 289, L. 20) #11.1  
*hāḏā himārun* ‘this (is) an ass’ (II, P. 290, L. 1) #11.2  
*hāḏā ʔibnu maḏṣuwrin* → *hāḏā ʔibnu maḏṣuwerin* ‘this (is) the son of Mathsur’ (II, P. 293, L. 14) #12.6  
*hāḏā ʔimrān* ‘this is Imran’ (II, P. 292, L. 16) #11.15  
*hāḏā ʔābun* ‘this (is) a disgrace’ (II, P. 285, L. 10–13) #9.4  
*hāḏā ʔābun* → *hāḏā ʔēbun* ‘this (is) a disgrace’ (II, P. 285, L. 10) #9.4  
*hāḏā ʔālimu Gāsimin* → *hāḏā ʔēlimu Gāsimin* ‘This is one who knows Qāsim’ (II, P. 288, L. 17) #10.15  
*kašlān* ‘lazy’ (II, P. 282, L. 8) #7.12  
*kayyāl* → *kayyēl* ‘thorny tree’ (II, P. 281, L. 20) #7.12  
*kibā* (*kḃw*) → *kibē* ‘horse’ (II, P. 280, L. 17) #7.8  
*kilābun* → *kilēbun* ‘dogs’ (II, P. 279, L. 21) #7.2  
*kātib* → *kētib* ‘writer’ (II, P. 282, L. 4) #7.13  
*lam yakilhā* → *lam yakil(h)ē* ‘he did not weigh her’ (II, P. 283, L. 6) #8.4  
*lam yaxafhā* ‘he does not fear her’ (II, P. 283, L. 10) #8.6  
*lam yaʔlamhā* ‘he does not know her’ (II, P. 283, L. 10) #8.6  
*li-ʔannā* → *li-ʔannē* ‘because’ (II, P. 289, L. 10) #10.18  
*lā* ‘no’ (II, P. 289, L. 11) #10.17  
*mabāliyy* ‘sums of money’ (II, P. 286, L. 12) #10.4  
*maḏrib(h)ā* → *maḏrib(h)ē* ‘her camp site’ (II, P. 283, L. 4) #8.3  
*maḏribahā* → *maḏribahē* ‘her camp site’ (II, P. 283, L. 2) #8.3  
*maḏfātiyh* → *maḏfētiyh* ‘keys’ (II, P. 279, L. 11) #7.1  
*makā* (*mḃw*) → *makē* ‘burrow for a lizard’ (II, P. 280, L. 17) #7.8  
*manāḏfiyx* ‘bellows’ (II, P. 286, L. 11) #10.4  
*manāḏšiyt* → *manēšiyt* ‘combs’ (II, P. 286, L. 14) #10.4  
*manāḏšiyt* ‘combs’ (II, P. 286, L. 11) #10.4  
*manāḏšiyt* ‘combs’ (II, P. 290, L. 11) #11.5  
*marartu bi-bābihi* → *marartu bi-bēbihi* ‘I passed by his door’ (II, P. 282, L. 3) #7.13  
*marartu bi-kāfirin* → *marartu bi-kēfirin* ‘I passed by an infidel’ (II, P. 291, L. 17) #11.8  
*marartu bi-māli māliḡin* ‘I passed by the property of Maliq’ (II, P. 288, L. 5) #10.13  
*marartu bi-māli yangulu* ‘I passed by the property of Yanqulu’ (II, P. 288, L. 5) #10.13  
*marartu bi-māli zaydin* → *marartu bi-mēli zaydin* ‘I passed by Zayd’s property’ (II, P. 288, L. 5) #10.13  
*marartu bi-māli Gāsimin* ‘I passed by the property of Qāsim’ (II, P. 288, L. 5) #10.13

*marartu bi-mālin kaḏiyrin* → *marartu bi-mēlin kaḏiyrin* ‘I passed by great wealth’ (II, P. 282, L. 11) #7.13  
*marartu bi-ragulin gāddin* ‘I passed by a serious man’ (II, P. 287, L. 22) #10.12  
*marartu bi-xayrin* → *marartu bi-xeyrin* ‘I passed in peace’ (II, P. 293, L. 19) #12.5  
*marartu bi-Gādirin* → *marartu bi-Gēdirin* ‘I passed by Qādir’ (II, P. 291, L. 17) #11.8  
*marartu bi-ʔal-māli* → *marartu bi-ʔal-mēli* ‘I passed by the property’ (II, P. 282, L. 11) #7.13  
*marartu bi-ʔaglānika* → *marartu bi-ʔaglēnika* ‘I passed by your bows-d’ (II, P. 282, L. 10) #7.13  
*marartu bi-ʔayrin* → *marartu bi-ʔeyrin* ‘I passed by a wild ass’ (II, P. 293, L. 19) #12.5  
*marra binā* → *marra binē* ‘he passed by us’ (II, P. 284, L. 1) #8.9  
*masniyyun* (*snw*) ‘watering’ (II, P. 280, L. 10–13) #7.6  
*masāḡid* → *masēḡid* ‘mosques’ (II, P. 279, L. 11) #7.1  
*mawāḏfiyōḏ* ‘sermons’ (II, P. 286, L. 13) #10.4  
*maḡāriyḏ* ‘single blades of shears’ (II, P. 286, L. 13) #10.4  
*maḏdiyyun* (*ḏdw*) ‘running’ (II, P. 280, L. 10–13) #7.6  
*maḏālīḡ* ‘pluck of animals’ (II, P. 286, L. 13) #10.4  
*min Girārika* → *min Girērika* ‘from your basis’ (II, P. 290, L. 11) #11.4  
*min himāriki* → *min himēriki* ‘from your-f. ass’ (II, P. 290, L. 5) #11.3  
*min ʔahli ʔādin* → *min ʔahli ʔēdin* ‘of the people of ʔād’ (II, P. 282, L. 5) #7.13  
*min ʔal-duwāri* → *min ʔal-duwēri* ‘from the dizziness’ (II, P. 290, L. 5) #11.3  
*min ʔal-muḥāḏḏari* → *mina ʔal-muḥāḏḏeri* ‘from the warner’ (II, P. 293, L. 12) #12.1  
*min ʔal-muḏāri* → *min ʔal-muḏēri* ‘from the borrowed’ (II, P. 290, L. 5) #11.3  
*min ʔamri* → *mina ʔemri* ‘from Amr’ (II, P. 293, L. 11) #12.1  
*min ʔawārihi* → *min ʔawērihi* ‘from your shame’ (II, P. 290, L. 5) #11.3  
*min(h)ā* → *min(h)ē* ‘from her’ (II, P. 283, L. 4) #8.3  
*mina ʔal-baḏari* → *mina ʔal-baḏeri* ‘from the dung’ (II, P. 293, L. 7) #12.1  
*mina ʔal-dʔarari* → *mina ʔal-dʔareri* ‘from the harm’ (II, P. 293, L. 7) #12.1  
*mina ʔal-fuḡari* → *mina ʔal-fiḡeri* ‘from the poverty’ (II, P. 293, L. 7) #12.1

- mina ʔal-kibari* → *mina ʔal-kiberi* 'from the greatness' (II, P. 293, L. 7) #12.1  
*mina ʔal-maʿari* → *mina ʔal-maʿeri* 'from the rain' (II, P. 293, L. 19) #12.1  
*mina ʔal-nār* → *mina ʔal-nēr* 'from the fire' (II, P. 292, L. 13) #11.11  
*mina ʔal-šariḡi* 'from spittle' (II, P. 294, L. 5) #12.7  
*mina ʔal-sʿiyari* → *mina ʔal-sʿiyeri* 'from the smallness' (II, P. 293, L. 7) #12.1  
*minhā* → *minhē* 'from her' (II, P. 284, L. 16) #8.11  
*minnā zaydun* 'Zayd is one of us' (II, P. 284, L. 16) #8.11  
*minhā* → *minhē* 'from her' (II, P. 283, L. 2) #8.3  
*minnā* → *minnē* 'from us' (II, P. 284, L. 16) #8.11  
*minnā faḡlun* 'Faql is one of us' (II, P. 288, L. 10) #10.14  
*mišzā* → *mišzē* 'goat' (II, P. 281, L. 6) #7.9  
*mišzānā* → *mišzēnā* → *mišzēnē* 'our goat' (II, P. 285, L. 1) #8.13  
*munāfiḡun* 'hypocrite' (II, P. 290, L. 11) #11.5  
*mušʿā* (*mušʿy*) → *mušʿē* 'gift' (II, P. 287, L. 18) #10.11  
*mā* 'whatever' (II, P. 289, L. 11) #10.17  
*māla* (*myl*) → *mēla* 'he inclined' (II, P. 287, L. 15) #10.10  
*māli ḡāsimin* 'Qāsim's property' (II, P. 291, L. 22) #11.9  
*māšin* → *mēšin* 'walker' (II, P. 282, L. 11) #7.13  
*māta* (*mwt*) → *mēta* 'he died' (II, P. 281, L. 10) #7.10  
*niyrān* → *niyrēn* 'boiling' (II, P. 293, L. 5) #11.16  
*nušmā ḡāsimin* → *nušmē ḡāsimin* 'grace of Qāsim' (II, P. 288, L. 18) #10.15  
*nāba* (*nwb*) → *nēba* 'represent' (II, P. 287, L. 15) #10.10  
*nābiyun* 'gifted' (II, P. 286, L. 8) #10.3  
*nāfiḡun* 'blower' (II, P. 286, L. 8) #10.3  
*nāfiḡun* 'impious' (II, P. 286, L. 8) #10.3  
*nāhiḡun* 'rising' (II, P. 286, L. 8) #10.3  
*nāširʿun* 'energetic' (II, P. 286, L. 8) #10.3  
*nāxilun* 'sifter' (II, P. 286, L. 6) #10.2  
*nāḡatun miḡlāt* → *nāḡatun miḡlēt* 'a roasted she camel' (II, P. 287, L. 8) #10.6  
*nāḡidun* 'critic' (II, P. 286, L. 5) #10.2  
*nāfiḡun* 'croaker' (II, P. 290, L. 11) #11.5  
*rabābin* 'fiddle' (II, P. 280, L. 4) #7.5  
*raʔaytu ḡihā* → *raʔaytu ḡihē* 'I saw ḡihā' (II, P. 283, L. 20) #8.9  
*raʔaytu damā* 'I saw blood' (II, P. 283, L. 13) #8.6

- raʔaytu dʿiyḡā* → *raʔaytu dʿiyḡē* 'I saw straits' (II, P. 289, L. 2) #10.16  
*raʔaytu milyā* → *raʔaytu milyē* 'I saw the offensive one' (II, P. 287, L. 13) #10.8  
*raʔaytu miyzānā* → *raʔaytu miyzēnē* 'I saw the scales' (II, P. 282, L. 14) #7.15  
*raʔaytu xabattʿa ʔal-riyfi* → *raʔaytu xabattʿe ʔal-riyfi* 'I saw the leaves of the countryside' (II, P. 293, L. 17) #12.4  
*raʔaytu xabattʿa firindin* → *raʔaytu xabattʿe firindin* 'I saw the swirls of a garment' (II, P. 293, L. 18) #12.4  
*raʔaytu yadahā* → *\*raʔaytu yad(ah)ē* 'I saw her hand' (II, P. 284, L. 11) #8.10  
*raʔaytu yadā* → *\*raʔaytu yad(ah)ē* 'I saw her hand' (II, P. 284, L. 11) #8.10  
*raʔaytu yadā* → *raʔaytu yadē* 'I saw her hand' (II, P. 283, L. 12) #8.7  
*raʔaytu ziyānā* → *raʔaytu ziyānē* 'I saw beauty' (II, P. 284, L. 6) #8.7  
*raʔaytu ḡawbahu bitakā* 'I saw his garment-with-bands' (II, P. 283, L. 19) #8.8  
*raʔaytu ḡizhā* → *raʔaytu ḡizhē* 'I saw the rainbow' (II, P. 287, L. 12) #10.7  
*raʔaytu ḡizhā* → *raʔaytu ḡizhē* 'I saw Qizah' (II, P. 282, L. 8) #7.14  
*raʔaytu ʔa-kāfiriyn* → *raʔaytu ʔa-kēfiriyn* 'infidels' (II, P. 290, L. 17) #11.6  
*raʔaytu siḡrā* 'I saw the swine' (II, P. 292, L. 16) #11.15  
*raʔaytu siḡmā* → *raʔaytu siḡmē* 'I saw knowledge' (II, P. 282, L. 9) #7.14  
*raʔaytu siḡḡā* 'I saw a jewel' (II, P. 292, L. 16) #11.15  
*raʔaytu siḡmādā* → *raʔaytu siḡmēdē* 'I saw Imad-d' (II, P. 282, L. 14) #7.15  
*raʔaytu siḡabā* 'I saw grapes' (II, P. 283, L. 18) #8.8  
*raʔaytu siḡḡā* → *raʔaytu siḡḡē* 'I saw a root' (II, P. 287, L. 13) #10.8  
*raʔaytu siḡḡā* 'I saw siḡḡa' (II, P. 292, L. 17) #11.15  
*raʔaytu siḡḡā* → *raʔaytu siḡḡē* 'I saw roots' (II, P. 289, L. 2) #10.16  
*raʔaytu siḡyā* 'I saw a wild ass' (II, P. 292, L. 16) #11.15  
*raʔaytika ḡasirā* → *raʔaytika ḡasirē* 'I found you desperate' (II, P. 292, L. 20) #11.15  
*sabaḡtu* → *sʿabaḡtu* 'I preceded' (II, P. 286, L. 17) #10.5  
*šaribtu minā ʔal-munḡuri* → *šaribtu minā ʔal-munḡeri* 'I drank from the hollow-out' (II, P. 293, L. 17) #12.3  
*šaybān* → *šaybēn* 'Shaybān' (II, P. 282, L. 2) #7.12  
*saḡā* (*sḡy*) → *saḡē* 'watered' (II, P. 287, L. 19) #10.11

*šimlālun* → *šimlēlun* 'agile' (II, P. 279, L. 21) #7.3  
*sirbālun* → *sirbēlun* 'shirt' (II, P. 279, L. 21) #7.3  
*suḡtu* → *s<sup>u</sup>ḡtu* 'I drove' (II, P. 286, L. 17) #10.5  
*sāḡid* → *sēḡid* 'worshiper' (II, P. 282, L. 4) #7.13  
*šāḡiṭ<sup>u</sup>n* 'remote' (II, P. 286, L. 8) #10.3  
*s<sup>u</sup>ayā* (*s<sup>u</sup>yy*) → *s<sup>u</sup>ayē* 'listened-d' (II, P. 287, L. 20) #10.11  
*s<sup>u</sup>iḡāf* → *s<sup>u</sup>iḡēf* 'descriptives' (II, P. 287, L. 1) #10.5  
*s<sup>u</sup>iḡāb* → *s<sup>u</sup>iḡēb* 'difficulties' (II, P. 287, L. 1) #10.5  
*s<sup>u</sup>āra* (*s<sup>u</sup>yr*) → *s<sup>u</sup>ēra* 'he became' (II, P. 281, L. 14) #7.10  
*s<sup>u</sup>āḡidun* 'climbing' (II, P. 285, L. 19) #10.1  
*talabanā* → *talabanē* 'he requested us' (II, P. 289, L. 2) #10.16  
*tā* → *tē* 't' (II, P. 289, L. 13) #10.18  
*tābalin* 'spice' (II, P. 280, L. 2) #7.4  
*t<sup>u</sup>alabanā zaydun* → *t<sup>u</sup>alabanē zaydun* 'we requested Zayd' (II, P. 284, L. 23) #8.12  
*t<sup>u</sup>ināb* → *t<sup>u</sup>inēb* 'ropes' (II, P. 287, L. 1) #10.5  
*t<sup>u</sup>ulibnā zaydun* → *t<sup>u</sup>ulibnē zaydun* 'we were requested by Zayd' (II, P. 284, L. 22) #8.12  
*t<sup>u</sup>āba* (*t<sup>u</sup>yb*) → *t<sup>u</sup>ēba* 'he enjoyed' (II, P. 281, L. 13) #7.10  
*t<sup>u</sup>āridun* → *t<sup>u</sup>ēridun* 'expeller' (II, P. 290, L. 6) #11.4  
*t<sup>u</sup>āʔifun* 'wandering/wanderer' (II, P. 285, L. 19) #10.1  
*wāyilun* 'infiltrator' (II, P. 286, L. 65) #10.2  
*xibāṭ* → *xibēṭ* 'evils' (II, P. 287, L. 1) #10.5  
*xāba* (*xyb*) → *xēba* 'he failed' (II, P. 281, L. 19) #7.10  
*xāfa* (*xwf*) → *xēfa* 'he feared' (II, P. 287, L. 13) #10.10  
*xāfa* (*xwf*) → *xēfa* 'he feared' (II, P. 281, L. 13) #7.10  
*xāmidun* 'inactive' (II, P. 285, L. 19) #10.1  
*xātamin* 'finger ring' (II, P. 280, L. 2) #7.4  
*yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā* → *yad<sup>u</sup>ribahē* 'he strikes her' (II, P. 284, L. 16) #8.11  
*yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā* → *yad<sup>u</sup>ribahē* 'he strikes her' (II, P. 283, L. 13) #8.7  
*yad<sup>u</sup>ribā* → *yad<sup>u</sup>ribē* 'they-d strike' (II, P. 283, L. 12) #8.7  
*yad<sup>u</sup>ribā* → *yad<sup>u</sup>ribē* 'they-d strike' (II, P. 284, L. 1) #8.9  
*yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā zaydun* → *yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>rib(ah)ē zaydun* 'Zayd wants to strike her' (II, P. 288, L. 8) #10.14  
*yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribā* (II, P. 282, L. 22) #8.2  
*yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>rib(ah)ē* 'he wants to hit her' (II, P. 282, L. 20) #8.1  
*yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā zaydun* 'Zayd wants to strike her' (II, P. 284, L. 16) #8.11  
*yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribā* → *yad<sup>u</sup>ribē* (II, P. 282,

## L. 22) #8.2

*yuriydu ʔan yakiylahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yakiyl(ah)ē* 'he wants to weigh her' (II, P. 283, L. 6) #8.4  
*yuriydu ʔan yanziḡahā* → *yuriydu ʔan yanziḡ(ah)ē* 'he wants to remove it' (II, P. 282, L. 21) #8.1  
*zaydun minnā* → *zaydun minnē* 'Zayd (is one) of us' (II, P. 288, L. 9) #10.14  
*zaydā* → *zaydē* 'Zayd-d' (II, P. 282, L. 6) #7.12  
*ziyanā* → *\*ziyanē* 'beauty' (II, P. 284, L. 12) #8.10  
*ḡaylān* → *ḡaylēn* 'Ghaylān' (II, P. 282, L. 2) #7.12  
*ḡilāb* → *ḡilēb* 'contests' (II, P. 287, L. 1) #10.5  
*ḡārimun* → *ḡērimun* 'debtor' (II, P. 290, L. 6) #11.4  
*ḡāʔibun* 'absent' (II, P. 285, L. 19) #10.1  
*d<sup>u</sup>arbtu d<sup>u</sup>arbah* → *d<sup>u</sup>arbtu d<sup>u</sup>arbe* 'I struck a blow' (II, P. 292, L. 14) #11.12  
*ḡafā* (n) (*ḡfw*) 'back' (II, P. 280, L. 15) #7.7  
*ḡasawtu* 'I was cruel' (II, P. 286, L. 20) #10.5  
*ḡawāriyr* → *ḡawēriyr* 'vases' (II, P. 292, L. 7) #11.10  
*ḡibāb* → *ḡibēb* 'domes' (II, P. 287, L. 1) #10.5  
*ḡiḡāf* → *ḡiḡēf* 'small boats' (II, P. 287, L. 8) #10.6  
*ḡiḡāf* → *ḡiḡēf* 'round boats' (II, P. 287, L. 1) #10.5  
*ḡistu* 'I measured' (II, P. 286, L. 20) #10.5  
*ḡāmā* → *ḡumtu* 'he got up, I got up' (II, P. 281, L. 18) #7.11  
*ḡārib* → *ḡērib* 'round boat' (II, P. 293, L. 11) #12.2  
*ḡāribun* → *ḡēribun* 'a boat' (II, P. 291, L. 10) #11.7  
*ḡāribun* → *ḡēribun* 'a boat' (II, P. 291, L. 13) #11.8  
*ḡāribun* → *ḡēribun* 'round boat' (II, P. 290, L. 6) #11.4  
*ḡāḡidun* 'seated' (II, P. 285, L. 19) #10.1  
*ḡattā* 'until' (II, P. 289, L. 8) #10.17  
*ḡimḡānun* 'insolent' (II, P. 292, L. 16) #11.15  
*ḡimāri ḡāsimin* 'Qāsim's ass' (II, P. 291, L. 22) #11.9  
*ḡublā* → *ḡublē* 'pregnant' (II, P. 281, L. 6) #7.9  
*ḡublā* (*ḡbly*) → *ḡublē* 'pregnant' (II, P. 287, L. 18) #10.11  
*ʔal-balbāl* 'the confusion' (II, P. 280, L. 4) #7.5  
*ʔal-gummāḡ* 'the totality' (II, P. 280, L. 4) #7.5  
*ʔal-xuḡ<sup>u</sup>ḡāf* 'the swallows' (II, P. 280, L. 5) #7.5  
*ʔarāda ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā ḡāsimun* 'he wanted that Qāsim hit her' (II, P. 292, L. 15) #11.13  
*ʔarāda ʔan yad<sup>u</sup>ribahā rāḡidun* 'He wanted that Rāḡid hit her' (II, P. 292, L. 15) #11.14



- ʔal-kāfir → ʔal-kēfir 'the infidel' (II, P. 290, L. 17) #11.6  
 ʔal-kāfiruwn → ʔal-kēfiruwn 'the infidels' (II, P. 290, L. 17) #11.6  
 ʔal-d'ayāh → ʔal-d'ayēh 'the skim milk' (II, P. 282, L. 1) #7.12  
 ʔal-d'isāf → ʔal-d'isēf 'weaklings' (II, P. 287, L. 1) #10.5  
 ʔal-mawāriru → ʔal-mawēriru 'terrains' (II, P. 292, L. 6) #11.10  
 ʔal-mis' bāh → ʔal-mis' bēh 'the lamp' (II, P. 287, L. 8) #10.6  
 ʔal-mi'fān → ʔal-mi'fēn 'the one that pierces' (II, P. 287, L. 8) #10.6  
 ʔal-nās → ʔal-nēs 'the people' (II, P. 285, L. 8) #9.3  
 ʔal-sayāl → ʔal-sayēl 'the brook' (II, P. 282, L. 1) #7.12  
 ʔal-ganā (Gnw) 'the aquiline nose' (II, P. 280, L. 15) #7.7  
 ʔal-ga'fā (Gf'w) 'the sand grouse' (II, P. 280, L. 15) #7.7  
 ʔal-gunniyy (Gnw) 'canals' (II, P. 280, L. 10-13) #7.6  
 ʔal-haggāg 'a pilgrim to Mekka' (II, P. 285, L. 8) #9.2  
 ʔal-haggāg → ʔal-haggēg 'ʔal-haggāg' (II, P. 285, L. 7) #9.1  
 ʔal-fis's'iy (fs'w) 'sticks' (II, P. 280, L. 10-13) #7.6  
 ʔammā 'however' (II, P. 289, L. 8) #10.17  
 ʔannā → ʔannē 'whence' (II, P. 289, L. 10) #10.18  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribahā rāšidun → ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribahē rāšidun 'he wants Rashid to hit her' (II, P. 292, L. 15) #11.13  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribahā samlaGun 'he wanted Samlaq to strike her' (II, P. 288, L. 10) #10.14  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribahā yanGalū 'he wanted Yanqul to strike her' (II, P. 288, L. 10) #10.14  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribahā zaydun → ʔarāda ʔan ya'd rib(ah)ē zaydun 'Zayd wanted to strike her' (II, P. 287, L. 14) #10.9  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribahā Gablu 'he wanted to strike her before' (II, P. 287, L. 15) #10.9  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribahā Gāsimun 'he wanted Qāsim to strike her' (II, P. 288, L. 9) #10.14  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribahā Gāsimun 'he wants Qasim to hit her' (II, P. 292, L. 15) #11.13  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'd ribanā bisaw' in 'he wanted to strike us with a whip' (II, P. 288, L. 10) #10.14  
 ʔarāda ʔan ya'lamahā maliGun 'he wanted that Maliq know her' (II, P. 288, L. 10) #10.14  
 ʔaxaōtu min mālihi → ʔaxaōtu min mēlihi 'I took of his wealth' (II, P. 282, L. 3) #7.13  
 ʔaxōtu ʔaxōah → ʔaxōtu ʔaxōe 'I took a turn' (II, P. 292, L. 14) #11.12  
 ʔillā 'except' (II, P. 289, L. 8) #10.17  
 ʔiswidād → ʔiswidēd 'blackness' (II, P. 279, L. 21) #7.3

- ʔāgurrin 'rewarder' (II, P. 280, L. 2) #7.4  
 ʔātaytu d'imnā → ʔātaytu d'mnē 'I accompanied' (II, P. 287, L. 12) #10.7  
 ʔabdā 'servant' (II, P. 282, L. 7) #7.12  
 ʔagabtu mina ʔal-samuri → ʔagabtu mina ʔal-sameri 'I liked the entertainment' (II, P. 293, L. 16) #12.3  
 ʔalaynā → ʔalaynē 'against us' (II, P. 283, L. 11) #8.7  
 ʔanatā → ʔanatē 'Anata' (II, P. 289, L. 3) #10.16  
 ʔašā (fšw) → ʔašē 'dimness of sight' (II, P. 280, L. 17) #7.8  
 ʔaš'ā (n) (fs'w) 'staff/stick' (II, P. 280, L. 15) #7.7  
 ʔaylān → ʔaylēn 'Aylān' (II, P. 282, L. 2) #7.12  
 ʔimrān → ʔimrēn 'edifice' (II, P. 293, L. 2) #11.16  
 ʔimādun → ʔimēdun 'Imad' (II, P. 279, L. 17) #7.2  
 ʔimādā → ʔimēdā → ʔimēdē 'Imad-d' (II, P. 284, L. 1) #8.13  
 ʔimādā → ʔimēdā → ʔimēdē 'Imad-d.' (II, P. 282, L. 14) #7.15  
 ʔinabā → ʔinabē 'grapes' (II, P. 289, L. 3) #10.16  
 ʔigrān → ʔigrēn 'drugged' (II, P. 293, L. 3) #11.16  
 ʔuōāfirun → ʔuōēfirun 'course' (II, P. 279, L. 11) #7.1  
 ʔābid → ʔēbid 'worshiper' (II, P. 279, L. 11) #7.1  
 ʔābidi Gāsimin → ʔēbidi Gāsimin 'worshiper of Qasim' (II, P. 291, L. 23) #11.9  
 ʔād'idun 'supporter' (II, P. 286, L. 6) #10.2  
 ʔāō'ilun 'repetitious' (II, P. 286, L. 6) #10.2  
 ʔālim → ʔēlim 'scientist' (II, P. 279, L. 11) #7.1  
 ʔālī'un 'branded' (II, P. 286, L. 8) #10.3  
 ʔās'imun 'protector' (II, P. 286, L. 5) #10.2  
 ʔā'isun 'sneezer' (II, P. 286, L. 5) #10.2  
 ʔirGā → \*ʔirGē 'roots' (II, P. 287, L. 13) #10.18

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